

'John Ince His Booke':
A previously unrecorded medical text of the sixteenth century

by

Lesley Bernadette Maria Smith

A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham for the degree of
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

Volume One
Text and Bibliography

Department of the History of Medicine
(Medicine, Ethics, Society, History)
The University of Birmingham
March 2014

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ABSTRACT

This thesis concerns a previously unpublished medical text, which takes the form of a manuscript note-book dating from the mid-sixteenth century. The original work is anonymous and untitled, but is known as the 'Ince book' after the later addition of the inscription 'John Ince his Booke' on the first page. The text contains 290 individual entries, all but a few of which are medical recipes. The contents of the book are considered in terms of the ailments to be treated and the range of ingredients included in the remedies, against the background of medical knowledge and practice in the period.

It is concluded that the work was compiled by a professionally trained medical practitioner, probably a physician, although it contains some 'quack' remedies in addition to mainstream medicine. The approach to medicine found throughout is in the Galenic tradition, although reflecting some modifications to this tradition typical of Reformation England. The exact function of the book remains uncertain, but it is suggested that the book represents working notes for an intended publication.

To Gareth, with love

How poor remembrances are statues, tombs,
And other monuments that men erect
To princes, which remain in closed room
Where but a few behold them in respect
Of Books, that to the universal eye
Show how they lived: the other where they lie!

From J. Florio, 'Concerning the Honour of Books',
W.S. Braithwaite (ed), *The Book of Elizabethan Verse*
(London: Chatto & Windus 1908)

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I have a large number of individuals and institutions to acknowledge. This is testament to the kindness and enthusiastic support for this research project, which I have received over the years.

My primary duty is to acknowledge the debt of gratitude I have to the anonymous owner of John Ince's Leech Book, and his wife, for allowing me the privilege of studying this extraordinary and rare manuscript.

My supervisors at the University of Birmingham, Professor Jonathan Reinartz and Dr Elaine Fulton have not only given me unstintingly the benefit of their considerable academic expertise but also patience and support above and beyond the call of duty for which I am most grateful.

The transcription work was most importantly supported by my palaeography tutor Mairi Macdonald at the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, who also provided assistance in identifying and dating the handwriting. I should also like to acknowledge and thank Dr. Dudley Fowkes, retired county archivist and now consultant, who spent some days with me checking the transcription work and also assisted also in dating and handwriting style. I was also assisted with the Latin by Arnold Burston, a retired classics teacher, who offered his expertise and time on a number of occasions. Dr Gareth Williams of the British Museum shared his knowledge of historical leatherworking, and produced a facsimile of the binding of the Ince Book for me. He also provided helpful comments and queries on earlier drafts of the thesis.

I should like to thank Dr. Peter Maxwell Stuart of St. Andrews University who corresponded with me regarding the magical content and also the Latin text for which I am most grateful as his opinion proved to be very important. Acknowledgement should also be given to Professor Keith Thomas of Cambridge University who took the time to speak to me personally about the work and offered enthusiastic encouragement. Professor Silke Ackermann, formerly of the British Museum, also provided helpful guidance on more than one occasion in relation to Dr John Dee. All of these are leading authorities in their fields and I am sensible of their kindness.

My interpretations of the medical content have been checked by the anonymous owner, a retired G.P., and given his own interest in the work, his support in this respect has been extremely valuable. I should also like to thank Dr. Jonathan Sheldon, Consultant Physician who has been extraordinarily supportive and enthusiastic about the content of the work. Mr. Tony Roberts, Consultant Gynaecologist and Obstetrician (recently retired), who was also fascinated and supportive of my work.

The Wellcome Library have been particularly helpful and I have been especially grateful for the on-line resource, living as I do so far from London. The Library of the Guild of Apothecaries have also provided valuable assistance, as have many other libraries such as the Lichfield reference library and the William Salt Library in Stafford. I am most grateful to all of these.

My colleagues Judith Collison and more recently, Joanne Pritchard have provided invaluable clerical support, accepting the rigours of typing and helping me to organise the constant changes that emerged as the thesis developed, and doing so with great patience.

Finally, I must thank my son, Henry Smith and my fiancé, Gareth Williams, without whom the journey would have been very much harder.

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Conventions of transcription

When addressing the transcription of the Ince book, it is important to recognise the condition of the manuscript. It is in generally good condition, particularly for its age, but there are some pages that are subject to fading, blackening and brown spot. This means I have not necessarily been able to interpret the whole text on each page, although the large majority of it is legible. A greater hazard to reading the work was the binding at the central gully which meant that quite a number of words only appear in part. There are also some instances where text has been crossed out by the author/compiler and as a result is no longer clearly legible. The owner kindly provided high resolution images of every page, which means I have been able to enlarge greatly from the tiny script, of the original. The key below indicates how I have recorded where text is lost or partly lost, and also whether this was the result of physical problems such as blackening etc, or of the compiler's own deletions.

With regard to spelling I have shown the work in the spelling as it appears. As would be expected for the period, the spelling is phonetic and the author does not keep a personal standard form of spelling which means the same word might appear in a number of ways. Much has been achieved by reading the text out loud.

Rubrication appears in red. However, it should be understood that in some cases it is not possible to tell whether the script is rubricated or merely subject to fade which can have the same visual effect.

KEY

- illegible because of binding or poor preservation
- ===== illegible, crossed out by the author/compiler

INTRODUCTION

This thesis concerns a previously unpublished medical manuscript of the sixteenth century. The manuscript is handwritten, but the pages are sewn together to form a book of 46 leaves, or 92 pages of octavo paper, bound together with a cover of thin vellum. There is a separate loose cover of leather rather than the book being fully bound. The manuscript is divided into individual entries, giving the appearance of a notebook. The entries are primarily comprised of receipts, or recipes for remedies to treat a variety of medical conditions, although it also contains a few entries which do not fit this general pattern.

In this dissertation, I argue that the manuscript dates from the mid-sixteenth century and was a compilation by a medical practitioner of remedies (including charms and other items that would not normally be considered medical by modern standards), drawn both from the practitioner's own experience, and from the authority of other cited individuals. Although a number of published books containing remedies from the sixteenth century survive, handwritten manuscripts of this date containing this type of material are exceptionally rare. The Wellcome Library archives house a few examples of leech books and other similar medical compendiums, but these are usually on vellum from a century prior to the manuscript discussed here, and in Middle English and/or Latin. There are also some examples of manuscripts and recipe books written in the seventeenth century and later.¹

My aim in this thesis is to consider the contents of the manuscript, to discuss how these fit into the context of established medical knowledge and approaches of the period, and to establish, in so far as this is possible, the likely authorship and function of the manuscript. Finally, I will consider what new or distinctive information is contained within this manuscript which has not previously been recorded from this period. I shall argue that the manuscript is a notebook

¹These include a range of late medieval and earlymodern texts, eg. Wellcome Library MS.404-11; Rylands Library MS 404; MS 1310; Cheltham's MS Mun.A.3.127; Cheltham's MS Mun.A.4.99.

compiled in the mid-sixteenth century by an English medical practitioner, probably a physician, practising in a rural environment. I shall further argue that the notebook was probably, although not certainly, a draft of a work intended for publication rather than for personal use or for tutelage. While I shall argue that the medical approach throughout the text is firmly in the Galenic tradition, alongside the continued use of magical charms and religion as part of the healing process, I shall suggest that the manuscript also contains new evidence of the application of 'sympathetic' principles to inanimate objects.

The note-book was found in 2002 among the papers of a retired general practitioner in Lincolnshire.² The book is handwritten on paper, bound together with an inner binding of recycled vellum, and with a separate outer wrapping of leather. The GP's family know nothing about the book, except that it had been left to his wife in the 1970s as part of her grandfather's estate. Closer inspection revealed it was very old, handwritten and seemed to be made up of what looked like recipes. The doctor spent much of his early retirement studying the book and confirmed that it largely comprised medical recipes. On discovering my interest in early modern medicine, he and his wife approached me in 2007 to see if I might be interested in studying the book as part of a formal research project. The book has now been professionally conserved and is lodged in a fire-proof safe at the home of the owner, who remains anonymous at his request.

The discovery of a completely unknown, apparently very old handwritten book is always of interest. To discover a detailed, comprehensive medical book written by an English physician in the mid-sixteenth century would make it of considerable historical importance. The very scarcity of a work aged 450 years and in good condition is remarkable in itself, whilst the contents allow it to shed light on medical practice in this period.

² The retired GP prefers to remain anonymous, as he does not wish to be contacted directly about the manuscript, but has provided a full photographic record of the manuscript, reproduced here as Appendix 1, as well as providing me with direct access to the manuscript for the purposes of study. Appendix 1 also includes on facing pages my own transcription, based both on the manuscript itself and on the enlarged photographs.

The work has no title, nor does it contain any direct indication of the original authorship of the book. For the sake of convenience it is referred to as the 'Ince book' throughout this thesis, as the first page of the work has the words, 'John Ince, his booke' inscribed in ink. However, this has no bearing on the original authorship, as John Ince was merely the owner of the book approximately one and a half centuries after it was written.³ Later, his name appears again with more information: 'John Ince Born 1675' and, finally, 'John Ince 1731'.⁴ His name appears five times in total throughout the work. The appearance of his name gives evidence of both his ownership of the book and some details of his own life with birth year and the fact that, in 1731, he had reached fifty-six years of age. There are examples of similar inscriptions elsewhere, and one fifteenth-century medical manuscript has the marginal notations 'This is peeter Sherde his booke' and 'Peeter Shearde his Booke off Rosse 1609 1609'.⁵ Expressions of book ownership can also be expressions of education and therefore social standing and an opportunity to create a memorial for prosperity and certainly other books have signatures of owners, not necessarily authors.⁶

The handwriting and ink of John Ince's signatures suggest that these additions were made in a much later period than the book itself. It is hardly surprising that John Ince prized the book, as there was a fashion for collecting interesting artefacts, publications and antiquities during his lifetime.⁷ There was also a trend for collecting portions of any number of writings from various sources of interest to the owner, such as law, alchemy, ballads, theology and science.⁸ These items of information were often collated into commonplace books, which were rather like modern scrapbooks.⁹ Commonplace books flourished during the early modern period and well

³ For discussion of the dating of the compilation of the manuscript, see pp. 5-9.

⁴ Ince. Margin of Recipe 1, Recipe 73, Recipe 199.

⁵ Wellcome Library Archives. MS.542. Miscellanea Medica XVI. www.wellcomelibrary.org/. Accessed 11 March 2014.

⁶ Bryan, J., *Looking Inward: Devotional Reading and the Private Self in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), p. 11.

⁷ McKeon, M., *The Secret History of Domesticity* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2005), p. 225.

⁸ ocp.hul.harvard.edu/reading/commonplace.html. Accessed 23 April 2013.

⁹ Moss, A., *Printed Commonplace-Books And The Structuring Of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. vi.

beyond. Francis Bacon (1561-1626), philosopher and statesman, is known to have owned a commonplace book, thought to date c.1593, indicating they were held by intellectuals and elite members of society.¹⁰ These collected ideas were not only found in the keep of the fashionable according to Ann Moss, but in academic forums too.¹¹ Amongst humanist circles in the sixteenth century, some university lecturers ensured students had three books of plain paper, one for recording direct quotes from taught texts, another for standard phrases and the last, a compilation of the student's thoughts and ideas.¹² These last tended not to be highly structured, but more typically represented compilations of diverse subjects. In the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, commonplace books were being printed, such as John Locke's noted 1706 publication, *A new method of making common-place-books*.¹³ Considering the genre, the Ince book does not appear to be a commonplace book as it is almost entirely about one subject - medicine - although a small percentage of the individual entries appear to be unrelated, or only indirectly related to medicine.¹⁴

The Ince book can be described as pocket-sized, measuring just over 9.5 cm in width when closed (excluding the clasp) and 14 cm in height.¹⁵ The outer cover is plain, undecorated, and made of soft brown leather. M. M. Foot describes how very difficult it is to date fifteenth-century plain leather bindings and it is just as difficult for this sixteenth-century piece.¹⁶ It seems likely that the hardy, practical cover was to protect the work during compilation, perhaps prior to printing. There is no formal structure to the binding or spine as the leather has been simply wrapped around the folded stitched paper contents. There is nothing to indicate precisely the

¹⁰ Pott, H., *The Promus of Formularies and Elegancies* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1883), p. xii.

¹¹ Moss., *Printed Commonplace-Books*, p. 171.

¹² Ibid., p. 171.

¹³ ocp.hul.harvard.edu/reading/commonplace.html. Accessed 26 April 2013.

¹⁴ Since the vast majority of the entries are medical recipes, I have catalogued the entries as 'Recipes 1-290', although some of these are not strictly-speaking recipes.

¹⁵ The outer cover is plain, undecorated, soft brown leather (probably cow hide from the texture and thickness). It is not known how old the leather is, and since it is not directly attached to the book, there is no way of telling whether or not it is of the same date. However, there is no particular reason to doubt that it is of comparable date (see Appendix 2.1).

¹⁶ Foot, M. M., 'Bookbinding in 1400-1557', in L. Hellinga and J. B. Trapp (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume 3* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp.109-27, at p. 109.

date at which the papers were stitched together. However, many of the recipes continue over two or more leaves, indicating that the papers were already sewn before the notes were written. To ensure the book remained closed and protected when not in use, there is a leather fitting (itself in two pieces), apparently cut from the same piece of hide, and sewn on (although the stitches are no longer extant, and this fitting has become detached). It is slightly more decorative than the rest of the leather cover, and is looped so that a string, ribbon or leather thong could have been tied around the whole book to keep it closed.¹⁷ This would also enable the book to be hung from a belt, if not carried in a pocket or case. A type of book known as a *vade mecum* ('come with me') is known to have been carried by physicians, suspended from their belts, in the later Middle Ages. Such books are also known to have been carried by mendicant friars, and included religious as well as medical texts, possibly including almanacs and more general medical notebooks.¹⁸ The portable nature of the book lends weight to the view that it could have been used to take notes under a variety of circumstances, whenever opportunities arose to gather information of interest to the compiler. However, portable books were not restricted to friars or physicians, so the form of the book tells us nothing directly about the profession or gender of the individual(s) concerned.

Around the loop can be found a tough, coarse string tied tightly. As the string is rather crude, it may indicate a later repair to the original fastening, which might have been broken. This does indeed seem likely as, although the work is bound simply, the paper and ink are both of good quality and a length of coarse string does not sit comfortably with the rest of the fabric.

There are a number of means by which the book can be dated. First, the physical fabric provides evidence as methods of paper-making changed fundamentally over time, which can be

¹⁷ A facsimile of the leather bindings, including the looped fitting, has been reproduced along with photographic images of the contents and forms part of the appendices (See Appendix 2.2). Dr Gareth Williams of the British Museum kindly made the facsimile of the bindings.

¹⁸ Carey, H. M., 'What is the folded almanac? The form and function of a key medical source for astro-medical practice in late medieval England', *Social History of Medicine* 16: 3 (2003), pp. 489-501.

seen in the appearance of the paper itself.¹⁹ The paper throughout the book is of good quality and dates the work to before the end of the sixteenth century, as the paper-making process changed at the end of that period. Identification relates to the use of a grid mesh method of production which gives distinct lines on the paper from the mould known as ‘laid lines’ or ‘chain lines.’²⁰ These lines are not found on paper dating from the seventeenth century or later, as the process of paper-making advanced in such a way as to produce a smooth finish without the translucent lines visible from production using the mesh system.²¹ Paper was imported into England, predominantly from France.²² There was a small domestic industry in England described by Michelle Brown as ‘half-hearted’ and the paper was of a quality that was unsuitable for print.²³

The handwriting throughout is typical of sixteenth-century ‘secretary hand’, as is the use of a type of shorthand used widely in the sixteenth century.²⁴ Most of the work is written in one hand, although a second hand may be the explanation for a slight difference in handwriting in the latter part of the book. There is at least one other hand present for a small part of the text and this is discussed in full in chapter three. However, all of the writings, with the exception of inclusions attributed to John Ince, are sixteenth-century secretary hand.²⁵

Within the leather outer cover of the book there is an inner binding (possibly the only original binding) of religious text, decorated and tightly written in English on vellum. It is typical of fifteenth-century manuscript production and clearly a century earlier than the main corpus of work. It is not unusual to find such an inner binding, as paper was an expensive commodity involving a complex production process, so was rarely thrown away, but re-used, often as

¹⁹ Brown, M. P., *The British Library Guide to Writing and Scripts* (London: The British Library, 1998), pp. 62-63.

²⁰ Hattaway, M., *A New Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture* (Chichester: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 2010), p. 186.

²¹ Barrett, J. and Iredale, D., *Discovering Old Handwriting* (Princes Risborough: Shire Publications Limited, 2001), p. 90.

²² Bidwell, J., ‘French paper in English books’, in J. Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume 4* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 583-601, at p. 583.

²³ Brown, M. P., *Writing and Scripts*, pp. 62-63.

²⁴ www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/ren/projects/publications/lima/handwriting/. Accessed 11 March 2014.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Accessed 11 March 2014.

bindings.²⁶ The use of vellum with a religious content is likely to have been a deliberate choice, to ensure that the compiler of this work would be protected and guided by the hand of God. The vellum itself by the nature of the prayers upon it would be seen to have power in its own right. Papers inscribed with prayers were often laid on patients in some cases as a healing source. This was done not only in the British Isles, but in many other countries in Europe across centuries.²⁷ However, it is also possible that the choice of vellum as a binding was purely practical, as vellum is more durable than the paper used for the main text. The dissolution of the monasteries in the 1530s led to the breaking up of large numbers of monastic libraries, and this may well have meant that pre-Reformation religious manuscripts were readily available as a source of recyclable vellum.

A number of individuals are mentioned in the book, and some (though not all) of these are helpful in dating the work, as well as giving a sense of the contemporary society from which it originates. Some, frustratingly, appear to be untraceable. The first names appear on page 1 (B1 001), one of the few damaged pages, although the names remain quite clear. They are ‘Thomas Englund, Wat Standfast, Hare Smythe’.²⁸ Written phonetically, in the style of the time, these are ‘Thomas England, Walter Standfast, and Harry Smith’, or indeed ‘Smythe’. The name ‘Wat’ was a common abbreviation for the name Walter. I have been unable to trace any information concerning the individuals in this entry, so they provide no evidence for the dating of the work. The same is true of a ‘Master Otwell’ mentioned in recipe 246 and ‘Master Robart Wireyn’, although the title ‘Master’ may indicate professionals, scholars, or simply gentlemen.

Other names are more useful. The name ‘Gilbert Kymer’ appears in recipe 270 and is highly significant in fifteenth-century medical terms. Gilbert Kymer was a well-known physician, who also qualified as a lawyer.²⁹ A renowned polymath of his day, he is referred to in the book as the Dean of Salisbury Cathedral, a post that was held by The Very Reverend Kymer from 1449

²⁶ www.lib.msu.edu/exhibits/bindings/pages/limpbinding.jsp. Accessed 11 March 2014.

²⁷ C. Rider, ‘Medical Magic and the Church in Thirteenth-Century England’, *Social History of Medicine*, 24(1) (2011), pp. 92-107, at p. 92.

²⁸ Ince. B1. 001.

²⁹ www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15820. Accessed 12 March 2014.

until his death in 1463.³⁰ It is therefore safe to conclude that this page was written after 1449. A reference to 'Lord Marcus Dorset' appears in recipe 87. This is almost certainly a reference to Henry Grey (1517-54), 3rd Marquess of Dorset (1530-54) and Duke of Suffolk from 1551. The same spelling of 'Lord Marcus Dorset' is used in the journal of Edward VI for 1551, when he was appointed Lord Warden of the Scottish Marches.³¹ Dorset was one of the most important noblemen in the kingdom at this time, and although he is not recorded as being in any way a medical authority, his name may appear for the social cache lent by the use of an aristocrat's name. It is conceivable that the title 'Lord Marcus Dorset' could apply to his father (1477-1530), or grandfather (c. 1456-1501) as both also held the title of Marquess of Dorset, and the reference to Gilbert Kymer indicates that the compiler was willing to cite 15th-century individuals, but the dating of the 3rd Marquess correlates better with the other dating evidence for the compilation of the Ince book, as does the documented use of the form 'Lord Marcus Dorset', and there is no reason to suppose that the other members of the Grey family are more likely authorities for medical recipes.

At the end of recipe 88 appears a comment by the author in a mixture of Latin and English, '... a noyent the pacyent & evry day the space of ix dayes hec doctor laughm mt^e cet^eos valde neq.' This sentence is amongst the most significant in the whole work as not only does it contain a form of Latin written in the hand of the main author, it also mentions the title and name 'doctor laughm', almost certainly Doctor Laughton.³² There are only eight individuals with the initial letter 'L' recorded in Munk's Roll and who were received into the Royal College of Physicians during the sixteenth century. Of these, the only name which appears consistent with the spelling 'Laughton' is Langton, of which there are two College members: Christopher

³⁰ Geoghegan, D., 'A Licence of Henry VI to Practice Alchemy', in A. Debus, (ed.), *Alchemy and Early Modern Chemistry: Papers from Ambix* (Huddersfield, West Yorkshire: Jeremy Mills Publishing, 2004), pp. 80-87, at p. 81.

³¹ British Library, Cotton Collection. www.archive.org/stream/cu31924092355613. p. 29. Accessed 24 April 2013; Braddock, R. C., 'Grey, Henry, duke of Suffolk (1517-1554)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

³² Translates as 'This, Dr Langton master, considers useless'.

Langton and Thomas Langton. On existing evidence, it is likely that the commentary relates to Dr Christopher Langton (b. 1521). Langton was elected to King's College Cambridge in 1538, and published three medical treatises (two in 1547, another in 1552).³³ He was admitted as a Fellow of Medicine of the University of Cambridge on 30 September 1552, and was expelled and struck from the roll of the Royal College of Physicians on 17 July 1558, and, subsequently, publicly humiliated in connection with his loss of status in 1563.³⁴ If the identification with Christopher Langton is correct, this recipe must have been written after Langton's graduation, and probably after the publication of his books of 1547. It is perhaps likely to date from before his disgrace in 1558, or before that disgrace became public knowledge in 1563, but his disgrace does not preclude referencing his opinion, especially if that reference is based on one of his publications. Dr Thomas Langton (b. 1546) may have been the son of Christopher Langton, but in any case had a luminous career and became President of the Royal College of Physicians (1604-1606).³⁵ It is unlikely that Dr Thomas Langton is the person referred to in the Ince book, as his dates appear too late to be consistent with the other dating evidence for the book, although Dr Christopher Langton fits very well.³⁶

Recipe 170 is a ship's manifest and holds an abundance of additional information. It names two individuals, Lenerd Sumter and Thomas Vesie of Bristol, one ship – the 'Sonndai' of Bristol of which Thomas Vesie is the Master, and three further place names in addition to Bristol, which are Cardiff, Ireland and Padstow. It describes a cargo of sawn wooden boards including

³³ Royal College of Physicians, Munk's Roll. munksroll.rcplondon.ac.uk/Biography/Details/2643. Volume 1. Accessed 25 June 2013. Moore, N., rev. Bakewell, S., 'Langton, Christopher (1521–1578)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004. www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15820. Accessed 12 March 2014; Langton, C., 'A very brefe treatise orderly declaring the principal parts of physick, that is to say :- Thynges naturall, Thynges not naturall, Thynges against nature.' Lond. 8vo. 1547. Langton, C., 'An introduction into physicke, with an universal dyet.' Lond. 8vo 1547. 'Treatise of Urines, of all the colours thereof, with the medicines.' Lond. 8vo 1552.

³⁴ Royal College of Physicians, Munk's Roll. munksroll.rcplondon.ac.uk/Biography/Details/2643. Volume 1. Accessed 25 June 2013.

³⁵ Ibid., Accessed 25 June 2013.

³⁶ Ibid., Accessed 25 June 2013.

those limed, Irish frieze cloth and a butt of wine which is specified as for delivery to Padstow. It also gives a date of the ‘iij daye of fabruare Anno dm Eduardi Sexti vi.’

Thomas Vesie may have been a ship’s captain, the ship having been based, according to the recipe, at Bristol. Another name that appears on the top of the page containing the manifest is ‘Leonard Sumter’, which could be Leonard Sumpter. I have not traced Thomas Vesie or Leonard Sumter, but this manifest, although a rather mysterious addition to the work, is very important as it provides a firm date, which is 1553. This is the only date included in the work, other than the later additions by John Ince already discussed, and again fits well with the fabric of the book and style of writing. This dating evidence provides a clear *terminus post quem* for the compilation of the book as a whole, although some of the entries may well have been written earlier.

These references thus show awareness of individuals dating back as far as the mid-fifteenth century, who have been cited to provide authority for the efficacy (or not) of particular medical recipes. The reference to Kymer aside, these authorities concentrate in the mid-sixteenth century, and the ship’s manifest provides a *terminus post quem* of 1553. If the identification of ‘doctor laughm’ with Dr Christopher Langton is correct, it is likely (though not certain) that it was compiled before 1558, or 1563 at the latest. This dating to the mid-sixteenth century is supported independently by the analysis of the handwriting and paper.

It is worthwhile considering whether the cover of the book and nature of binding gives further information about its intended use and how the work was compiled. By the sixteenth century, book binding was a trade in its own right. Unbound books would be brought to the binder for his skills which included the process of sewing together the leaves or codex and securing the gatherings between some form of protective covering.³⁷ The term ‘gathering’ means

³⁷ Dobranski, S., ‘Reading Strategies’, in J. Raymond (ed.), *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture: Vol. 1, Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 101-13, at p. 111.

a single piece of parchment or paper, folded repeatedly to a required size.³⁸ The standard of coverings would vary as one might expect according to budget or tradition associated with a particular type of work.

When examining the binding and layout of the manuscript carefully, two distinct sections can be discerned. The first section of the book contains 92 pages of octavo size, implying six gatherings, which would mean there were originally 48 leaves, and therefore 96 pages.³⁹ Of the 48 leaves, two (and therefore four pages) are missing, these having been taken cleanly out at the centre binding. As it is not known how many recipes were on the missing pages, it is not possible to calculate the original number of recipes contained within this section of the work.⁴⁰ The second section comprises 52 pages, which implies four gatherings (32 leaves or 64 pages). This on the octavo calculation indicates there could be as many as twelve pages missing, which means that six leaves are missing. The absence of these pages in the first and second sections could be for a variety of reasons; it is entirely possible that there was a mistake on these pages or perhaps something written that had to be torn out, perhaps not relevant to the book. If so, the compiler was inconsistent, as there are recipes in the book that are non-medical and not apparently relevant to the book, but remain intact. The two sections were clearly sewn together at the same time. I have numbered the recipes sequentially based on the order in which they appear, as there was no original numbering system in place or, apparently, an index. It is highly unlikely that the index would have fallen on one of the missing pages because they are situated in the main body of the book in both sections instead of at the beginning or end of the work, which are more logical index placements. The absence of an index could suggest that the work was intended solely for the personal use of the author/compiler. Equally, it could suggest that this was an early draft, with reorganisation and index intended to be added at a later stage, prior to publication.

³⁸ Foot, M. M., 'Bookbinding in 1400-1557', p. 109.

³⁹ Octavo is when a sheet of paper is folded into three to give eight leaves and therefore sixteen pages.

⁴⁰ Ince. Recipe 234, Recipe 235, Recipe 237, Recipe 264.

The ink is of good quality borne out by the fact that it can be read today with only a little fading.⁴¹ Some printers made their own ink and, the blacker the ink, the more expensive and higher quality it was.⁴² The red ink appearing in the Ince book would, in a printed text, be the sign of a prestigious publication, not only because of the price of the red ink, but because the process of printing would then have required two colours, which would have meant a lengthier and more expensive process.⁴³ Even in a handwritten manuscript, the additional use of red ink was something of a luxury. Damage by blackening on a few recipes means a tiny proportion is unreadable, amongst which is the first page; although legible in part, it does have damage which, frustratingly, could have been the key to the whole work in terms of identifying the author. There is currently no process available to make the damaged script clearer and, along with the missing pages, this means we may never know the content of every recipe.⁴⁴

There is a significant change in the second section, as the handwriting differs slightly, but distinctly from the handwriting in the first section and evident in recipe 35. This may be for a number of reasons. It could indicate that the author was suffering from rheumatics or arthritis, which could change the handwriting; this is plausible for any work that has taken many years to compile where the author has aged since its commencement. A decline in eyesight may be another reason for the change in handwriting as seen in recipe 52. There are also two or three other handwritings in the corpus, particularly noticeable in recipe 35, the content of which is discussed more fully in chapter three. These other writings form small additions to the book at the time it was being compiled. Most of the first part has rubricated titles and numbering, but, in the second work from recipe 256, the compiler employed the same black ink for titles as in the body copy. Equally noticeable is that the content of the recipes late in the volume seems to

⁴¹ Raymond, J., 'The Development of the Book Trade in Britain', in J. Raymond (ed.), *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 59-75, at p. 64.

⁴² Ibid., p. 64.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 64.

⁴⁴ An opinion was sought of Dr Dudley Fowkes, Independent consultant archivist and historical researcher (and former County Archivist for Staffordshire) in May 2012.

contain less detail than the first book which becomes more obvious the later the recipe and these might possibly have been hurriedly written. Whilst the handwriting change could be accounted for with the author growing older and more decrepit, this does not necessarily explain why the standard of presentation found earlier in the work should have changed in so many ways.

Arguably, it could be the result of another author taking over the work, perhaps a son or pupil of the original author, but the change in the handwriting itself does not appear to be significant enough for this to have been the case.⁴⁵ Whilst it is worthwhile considering this as a possibility, it is also possible that the author had decided to finish the work, as the title of the final recipe, , number 290, 'A medesen for ye newe dysses', is a generic cure, rather than a cure for a specific condition like most of the recipes in the book..

Thus, whilst much knowledge can be gained by analysing the physical fabric of the book and the time in which it was compiled, it does not give direct evidence of the identity or nature of the author or compiler himself.⁴⁶ It is probable that the writer was a man as, according to David Cressy, literacy rates amongst women in some areas of England were between zero and fifteen percent in the 1580s, although James Daybell suggests that literacy amongst women of upper and middling groups in the early modern period is often underestimated as a result of failure to differentiate between literacy levels in different social groups.⁴⁷ The possibility of a female author cannot be precluded entirely. Although female literacy was probably even lower at the time of the book's compilation, a generation before the 1580s, and secretary hand was normally exclusively taught to men, the content could have been dictated by a woman to a male scribe. A slightly later example of such medical authorship is Lady Katherine Ranelagh (1615-91), described as having an international reputation as a medical and scientific authority. Although she is presented as the 'author' of a recipe book, containing 291 recipes, some of which included sophisticated medical

⁴⁵ See Appendix 3.

⁴⁶ I think that it is likely that the book was compiled by a physician, and therefore by a man, and I have therefore used 'he' and 'him' to describe the author throughout.

⁴⁷ Cressy, D., *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p.145; Daybell, J., *Women letter-writers in Tudor England* ((Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 15.

treatments, comparison with autographed letters penned by Lady Ranelagh shows that the recipe book was written in another hand, showing the direct influence of secretary hand. However, the fact that she did not write the recipes down herself is not seen as detracting from her authorship of the book. Furthermore, of the forty-three attributions in the manuscript naming sources of recipes, thirteen were women, of diverse social backgrounds, from other titled ladies to maids. However, Lady Ranelagh was active more than a century after the compilation of the Ince book, and must in any case be regarded as an exceptional figure even by the standards of her own time, as she was considered one of the greatest female intellectuals of her day.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, she was not unique amongst wealthy women in taking an interest in medical recipes, even at a much earlier date.

As early as 1535, Lady Honor Lisle (c. 1493/5-1566) provided a recipe for a cure for urinary stones to Lord Edmund Howard, while Lady Elinor Fettiplace (1570-1647) produced a domestic receipt book, which included several medical recipes,⁴⁹ Other female authors of medical recipe books are recorded in the seventeenth century, such as the two recipe books by grandmother and granddaughter Ann Brockman (1616-60) and Elizabeth Brockman (d. 1687), the first of which was predominantly medical, while the second was predominantly culinary with some medical content. Ann Brockman's book also cites external authorities for some of her recipes.⁵⁰ Female authors were much less common in the sixteenth century, however, although it was not only potential authors who took an interest in medical recipes, since domestic treatment for many types of ailment was part of the usual routine of the housewife. The major text by the male author Gervase Markham was, after all, entitled *The English Housewife*, and aimed at a female audience.

⁴⁸ DiMeo, M., 'Authorship and medical networks: Reading attributions in early modern manuscript recipe books', in M. DiMeo and S. Pennell (eds) *Reading & Writing Recipe Books, 1550-1800* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press 2013), pp. 25-46, at pp. 26-9.

⁴⁹ For more detailed discussion of both of these, see below pp. 37, 41-2.

⁵⁰ DiMeo, M., 'Authorship and medical networks', 34-5.

Nevertheless, it seems unlikely that the Ince book was compiled by a woman. I shall argue in more detail below that the book is the work of a professional medical practitioner and, more specifically, a physician. While there were some licensed female medical practitioners in the sixteenth century (see chapter 3), women were not found amongst the ranks of physicians in England at this time.

The content gives information about the preparation and administration of a vast array of drugs and medical therapies, but does not provide information by which the success of the writer may be judged alongside his peers in the profession. There is no name or hint of the region where he might have practised. What is notable is that the writer very frequently records the proven success of a medicine or therapy. A sense of professional confidence permeates the entire work extending to the actual number of days a prescription took to cure a patient, and stating that recipes would make him or her 'holl', meaning 'whole', or 'cured'.

The lack of tangible evidence about the immediate locality in which the compiler of the text practiced medicine means it is not possible to gain a clear picture of the patients who sought his professional care. Understanding the social environment and creating links might be achieved, in part at least, by analysing the condition that a recipe is designed to treat and also the type of drugs used. In a simplistic sense, some medicinal plants could grow only in particular types of soil peculiar to certain areas.⁵¹ Caution should be applied though as medical commodities could be bought from apothecaries selling from a spectrum of geographic sources and suppliers and therefore the plant growing environment only really applies to the poorer end of the social scale gathering from the immediate locality.⁵² The use of language employed within the text about the nature of medical conditions or illnesses might also be a useful source of information as an indication of a particular working environment. Narrative medical texts provide imagery about

⁵¹ www.landis.org.uk/downloads/downloads/structure_brochure.pdf, p. 6. Accessed 13 February 2014.

⁵² Kerwin, W., *Beyond the Body: The Boundaries of Medicine and English Renaissance Drama* (Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 2005), p. 26.

health problems and medicine, and help with the understanding of attitudes towards sickness and healing.⁵³ As Iona McCleery suggests, medical historians at one time were not interested in how medicine and disease were represented in their sources, but now scholars see the narrative texts as vital links to the reality of the time. Any attempt to relate to how society and individuals in the distant past responded to pain and sickness without imposing modern views is problematic. It is also accepted that some of the labels applied to diseases at the time were misdiagnoses.⁵⁴ There are research methods available in palaeopathology that enable the medical historian to confirm the existence of diseases in the past. Recent developments in the field of archaeology, using skeletal remains, for example, have revealed metabolic diseases, such as osteoporosis and infections such as tuberculosis.⁵⁵ Contributions by scholars working in bio-molecular archaeology have also tracked the presence of leprosy, syphilis and malaria in remains.⁵⁶ As this specialist work often has a tight chronological and geographical focus, it is possible to confirm the presence of particular diseases in a particular time and also region of the British Isles, even allowing for population migration. Such analysis is beyond the remit of this study but the thesis is able to address direct textual evidence suggesting working and living environments appropriate to some of the recipes in the text.

Having identified this as predominantly a listing of medical recipes, compiled in the mid-sixteenth century, I will attempt to address a number of research questions in the course of this dissertation. First, I wish to establish more clearly the character of the book, and what it tells us about medical practice at the time that it was written. This includes considering how far the book relates to any specific branch of medicine and known models of medical practice, and also how far the medical knowledge contained within the book reflects ‘current’ thinking of the mid-

⁵³ Slack, P., ‘Mortality crises and epidemics 1485-1610’, in C. Webster (ed.), *Health, medicine and mortality*, pp. 9-59, at p. 23.

⁵⁴ McCleery, I., ‘Medical ‘Emplotment’ and Plotting Medicine: Health and Disease in Late Medieval Portuguese Chronicles’, *Social History of Medicine*, Vol.24, No 1 (2011).

⁵⁵ Roberts, C., ‘Health and Welfare in Medieval England: The Human Skeletal Remains Contextualised’, Durham Research Online (2010), p. 308.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 308.

sixteenth century, and how it compares to other known works of the period. Second, I wish to establish the function and intended audience of the book, including particularly whether it was designed purely for personal use or for a wider audience. Third, I will consider what if anything we can say about the individual(s) who compiled this book, including professional status and likely geographical location. Finally, I will consider what the book adds to current scholarship about the history of medicine, and whether it provides any new information not just about medicine, but about society, religion or politics in the sixteenth century.

Chapter one surveys the contents of the Ince Book by subject matter. Since the majority of the entries are recipes for medical remedies, these are discussed in groups relating to ailments specific to different parts of the body, ordered from head to toe, followed by more general ailments, and those affecting multiple parts of the body. The much smaller group of entries which are not medical recipes are then considered, along with the question of how these relate to the rest of the text. Chapter two also focuses on the contents of the book, but this time in terms of the *materia medica*, or ingredients, found in the recipes. These are considered in comparison with other selected collections of medical recipes, and against the broader background of ‘sympathetic medicine’, in which specific remedies were selected with reference to the humoral system articulated by Galen, his predecessors and his successors. The chapter also considers ingredients in their social and economic context, and what the choice of ingredients tells us about the ‘market’ for the remedies collected here, and about the geographical location of the author.

Chapter three then considers the significance of the book in more detail. It begins with a general background to the context in which the book was written, including the religious and political background of England in the mid-sixteenth century. It continues with a survey of the main branches of medical practice to which such a text might relate, and the type of education, training and professional regulation that pertained to each of these branches. Although the difference between the three main branches of medicine (physicians, surgeons and apothecaries)

have sometimes been exaggerated, and the lines between them seem often to have been blurred in practice, I will argue that the text is most likely to have been written or compiled by a physician.⁵⁷ This is then followed by a brief survey of developments in medical writing up to the mid-sixteenth century. A final piece of context is provided by a discussion of the legal background to printing and publication at the time, and the market for published compilations of medical recipes. I will then consider the contents of the book, as revealed in the previous two chapters, against this contextual background, and will discuss what the contents tell us about the character and identity of the compiler(s), as well as the likely reasons why this fascinating collection of recipes was compiled.

The Ince book must be considered against the background of other modern literature on the subject of sixteenth-century medicine, as well as of other medical texts from the same period and earlier. There are no secondary works directly related to the Ince book itself as this is the first study of the manuscript. However, a number of other texts have been published in edited forms, which are useful for the purposes of comparison, in addition to the commentary and interpretation provided by the editors. Three of these texts are used directly as comparators for the materia medica in chapter two. These are the twelfth century work known as *The Trotula*, the sixteenth century *The Birth of Mankind* and *The English Housewife*, written in the early seventeenth century. These will be discussed in more detail below.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ See pp. 96-105.

⁵⁸ Green, M. (ed.), *The Trotula* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Press, 2001), p. 123; Hobby, E. (ed.), *The Birth of Mankind* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009), p.xvi; Best, M.R., (ed.), *The English Housewife*, (London: McGill-Queens University Press 1986), Chapter 1, p. 28. See also pp. 70-73.

CHAPTER 1: CONTENT BY SUBJECT

John Ince's book comprises 290 individual entries of which 282 are medical and four non-medical with some magical content. There are, in addition to the recipes, four anomalies which are made up of a court proceeding, batter for fish, a ship's manifest and an item giving advice on fishing and fowl catching. None of these are recipes, but are numbered as such for ease of reference. The entire numbering system has been imposed on the book and is not included in the original work. While some of the recipes are numbered in the original, there is no consistent system throughout the work. There are four damaged pages either torn in part (numbers 234, 235 and 237) or blackened (2 and 3) and it is possible there is at least one page missing before recipe 233 as it lacks a heading and appears a continuation of a previous receipt. Fragments in the spine suggest that there are pages taken out completely after recipe 248. These illegible or missing pages may explain why some parts of the body are not mentioned.

The medical recipes are not specialist, but represent general medicine, addressing a wide span of illnesses and conditions. The described symptoms range from the treatment of minor domestic injuries, such as how to remove thorns through to medicines and therapies for acute diseases prevalent in early modern England, including leprosy and plague. The vast majority of the items address internal complaints - minor, chronic and acute - with symptoms frequently indicating the severity of an illness, whether *parlous* (perilous) or less severe.

The recipes within the book are not consistently grouped together in a logical and systematic manner, although there are clusters of recipes on related subjects, such as recipes 121-7, all of which deal with the removal of thorns. Such groupings may indicate material borrowed from other sources, but I suggest in more detail below that the absence of consistent grouping throughout the work derives from the book representing working notes rather than a finished text. The fact that some groups of recipes have their own internal numbering while others do not

is also consistent with a draft rather than a final text. In any case, in the absence of a clear internal structure, I have chosen to follow the system used by the early modern anonymous author of *Aristotle's Masterpiece* whereby the physiology section starts by describing medical problems associated with the head of a patient and then working down the anatomy of the human body ending with the feet.⁵⁹ This approach of classification *a capite ad calcem* (from head to heel) was standard in the sixteenth century and graced the pages of medical manuals for many centuries and is thus an appropriate approach for this thesis.⁶⁰

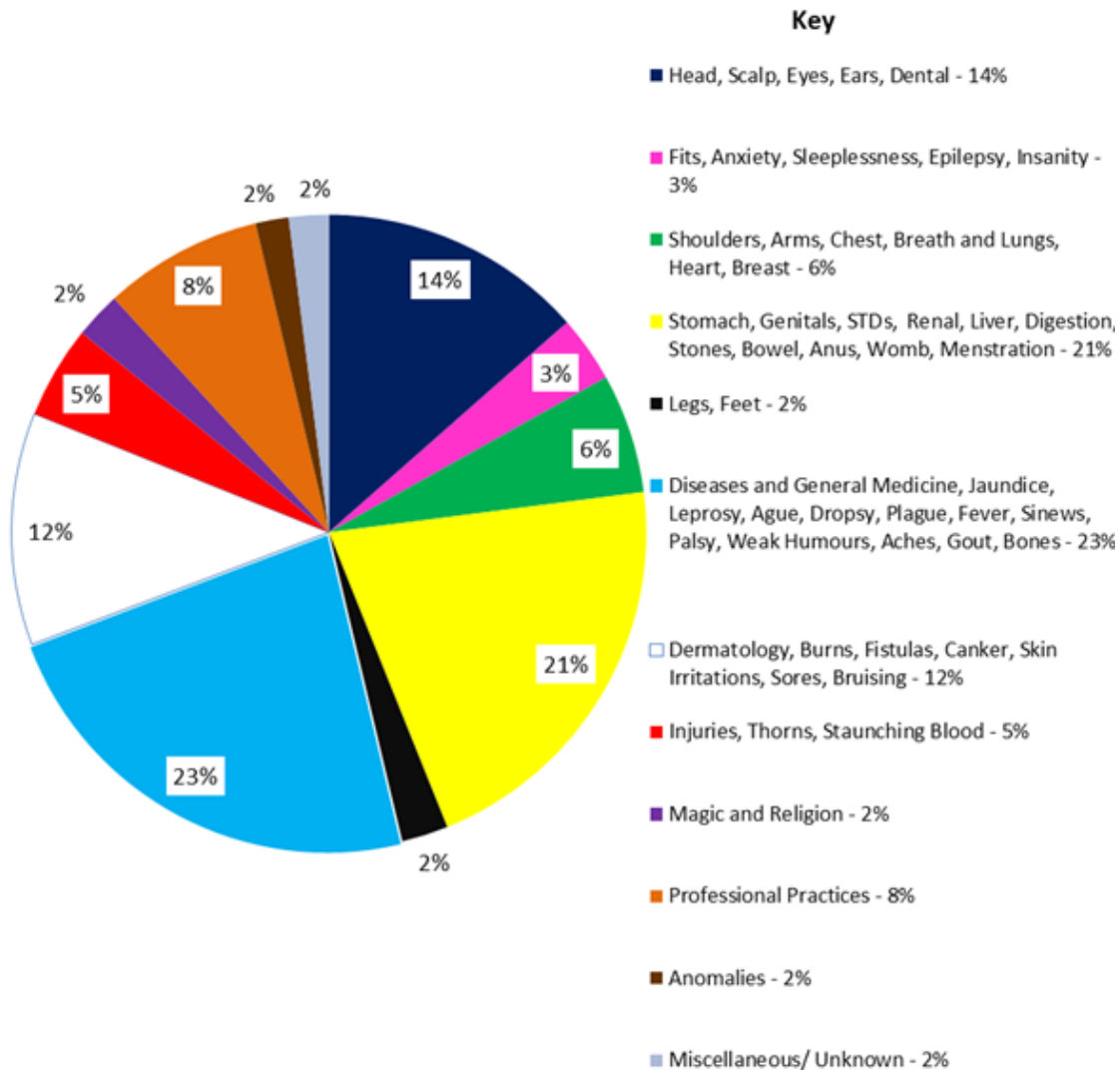
In this chapter, I consider how the types of remedies compare with those found for the same ailments in other contemporary sources, as well as the historiography. Some of the recipes are shown in full to aid discussion. I discuss first the recipes starting with the head including the brain and conditions related to psychiatry, such as anxiety. The study then moves to eyes, ears, nose, mouth and dental issues. Section two discusses the recipes related to the upper torso, neck, shoulders, arms, lungs and heart. The third section focuses on problems concerning the digestion, bowel and anus. Then to the fourth section, which considers recipes for conditions that are gender related in men's and women's health. Diseases that affect the whole body, such as leprosy, dropsy and ague, make up the analysis of the fifth section. Finally, the sixth and last section of this chapter looks at injuries, mostly external, that have been caused by domestic or workplace accidents. The pie chart below gives percentages of the recipes discussed in relation to the body with a further breakdown shown in Appendix 4.

Table 1: ...

⁵⁹ *The Works of Aristotle*, (London: The Camden Publishing Co., Undated). During 1684 excerpts from two earlier texts were pasted together by someone unknown; one a guide to midwifery, the other a treatise on the secrets of nature and was published as *Aristotle's Masterpiece*, though neither by Aristotle, nor a masterpiece.

⁶⁰ Wear, A., 'Medicine in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1700', in L.I. Conrad, M. Neve, V. Nutton, R. Porter and A. Wear, *The Western Medical Tradition, 800BC to AD 1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1995), pp. 215-361, at p. 255; Demaitre, L. E. *Medieval Medicine: The Art of Healing, from Head to Toe*, (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2013), p. ix.

Recipes by portions of the body



The ancient medical philosophers and practitioners could not agree either on the significance or function of the brain and, although it may be astonishing to a modern observer that the brain is not specifically mentioned in the Ince book, Aristotle's view that the brain was primarily a cooling organ for the heart and therefore of secondary importance was still accepted by some sixteenth-century physicians. Aristotle also considered the brain to be the site where the human senses, also described as spirits of the body, could move about freely and congregate

when needed.⁶¹ The most influential of the medical philosophers, Galen, claimed that the brain was a cold and moist organ made up of sperm.⁶² Treatments for the cold complexion of the brain, if causing an imbalance of the humors (presenting as headaches, catarrh and melancholy), were in the classic humoral style of treatment by opposites, using ‘drying’ herbs.⁶³ The anatomical beliefs of the ancients regarding the human brain largely remained unchallenged until 1664, when Thomas Willis (1621-1675) published (in Latin) *The Anatomy of the Brain*. Willis attempted to translate anatomic features of the brain into behavioural and neurophysiological functions.⁶⁴

The first recipes related to the head are 8 and 40, which show through their recommended pharmacology pure examples of Galenic humoral medical practice with the use of hot ingredients, including ginger and red mint, to drive out with heat any imbalance of watery cold humours in the brain causing rheumatics. This seems to contradict the idea that the brain was meant to be a cold, moist organ except that humoral theory was entirely about balance and correction of imbalance. Recipe 40 is a direct repetition of recipe 8, which is crossed through without any marginalia to explain this decision. Perhaps the author simply decided to move the recipe to another section of the book. Both recipes contain the same ingredients, with the exception that number 40 is careful to point out that the ale, although stale, was once of good quality. The reasoning behind such ingredients is discussed further in chapter two, which examines the pharmacology of the recipes. Angela Montford gives a view of what the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Dominican monks doubling as medical practitioners offered patients who suffered pains in the head. This was an expensive blend of saffron, myrrh and aloes taken with wine and rosewater which was guaranteed to cure headaches as it is described as stimulating the

⁶¹ Sears, E., ‘Sensory perception and its metaphors in the time of Richard of Fournival’ in W.F. Bynum and R. Porter (ed, *Medicine and the Five Senses* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 17-39, at p. 25; www.stanford.edu/class/history13/earlysciencelab/body/brainpages/brain.html. Accessed 8 November 2013.

⁶² Ibid., Accessed 8 November 2013.

⁶³ Palmer, R., ‘In bad odour: Smell and its significance in medicine from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century’, W.F. Bynum and R. Porter (ed, *Medicine and the Five Senses* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 61-8, at p. 64

⁶⁴ Clarke, E. and Dewhurst, K. *An Illustrated History of Brain Function: Imaging the Brain from Antiquity to the Present*, (San Francisco, CA: Norma Publishing, 1996), p. 74.

five senses and thereby curing pain by making the patient feel ‘young and happy’, which might explain why a patient might worry less about the cost of such a solution.⁶⁵ Disorders of the brain were known to cause pains through the nervous system which, according to Galen, were settled in the marrow of the backbone.⁶⁶ Recipe 57 addresses *vamate* in the head, and although there does not appear to be any record of what this condition may translate to in modern medical terms, it does contain in its prescription a doctrine of signatures.⁶⁷

Recipe 88 is entitled ‘for ache in the bake or in the hede’. The remedy not only includes a poultice of roses, but also a ‘catt gelt or spayd’ stuffed with nettle-cleansed black snails and then well roasted to produce a dripping, applied to the patient’s head as an ointment over a five-day period. The significance of the cat being spayed or castrated is interesting as it shows that a medical practitioner believed that the nature of a creature could be changed in terms of its medicinal properties by removing its sexual organs.

There is only one reference for treating a patient apparently suffering from a stroke:

<i>Recipe 197</i> a palsay	ffor to make a water for the palsy wiche takyth away from man or woman speche & makes a man sodanly dumbe Cap --- xxvij Take bame herbe & lay ytt xxiiij houres in red wyne or claryd & styll yt in a stelatorye & gyve y ^e pacyent to drynk & anoynte hys temples wyth all & so vse hym ij or iij dayes & hys speche shall cm to hem
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⁶⁵ Montford, A. *Health, Sickness, Medicine and the Friars in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2004), p. 195.

⁶⁶ Wear, A., *Knowledge & Practice in English Medicine, 1550-1680* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 118.

⁶⁷ The doctrine of signatures as a medical philosophy is discussed in full within chapter 3, which examines the approaches of medicine used by the author of the book. Evidence of this philosophy is shown by the list of ingredients for treatment of the brain which includes a walnut chosen because it looks like the human brain and therefore thought to be designed by God to treat that organ. The recipe recommends that the mixture be massaged gently into the temples as a topical treatment which is not common in the work.

The recipe refers to some of the recognisable symptoms of a stroke, without addressing the cause, although the medical community and society more broadly believed at this time that the symptoms of a stroke suggested a patient had been ‘planet struck’.⁶⁸ There existed some criteria for diagnosis, which indicated that if a patient appeared to be himself, but personality and responses were affected, then the patient had suffered a stroke. Hippocrates, in his work *Airs, Waters and Places*, writes ‘...render them paralytic when exposed suddenly to strokes of the sun...’⁶⁹ It would be known that some individuals suffering a stroke could survive for considerable periods of time depending upon the degree and strength of the attacks. These degrees of reaction were dependant on the force of the planet concerned and the health of the patient at the time of attack.⁷⁰ Some patients would have been known to recover fully and others to varying degrees of improvement.

It is difficult to diagnose what ailment recipe 196 seeks to treat, as the recipe describes shaking at the back of the head alone as a symptom. It is quite possibly what modern medical practitioners now recognise as Parkinson’s disease.⁷¹ The recipe has complex ingredients, including a black cat. Interestingly, there is some logic shown in the way the salve is applied to the patient, which involves rubbing it onto the patient’s shaven head. This suggests that some or all salves although prescribed as topical treatments were in fact believed to be absorbed through the skin and thereby able to work effectively inside the affected area. Creams and salves can be seen to disappear when rubbed into skin so that is understandable, but the writer of this work would have no understanding of circulation and bloodstream absorption as the work of Harvey was published over half a century later than the Ince book.⁷²

⁶⁸ Forbes, T. R. ‘By what disease or casualty: the changing face of death in London’, in C. Webster (ed.), *Health, medicine and mortality*, pp. 117-39, at p. 129.

⁶⁹ classics.mit.edu/Hippocrates/airwatpl.mb.txt. Accessed 18 December 2013. Hippocrates ‘Part 3’ ‘On *Airs, Waters, and Places*.’

⁷⁰ Chapman, A. ‘Astrological medicine’, in C Webster (ed.) *Health, medicine and mortality in the sixteenth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 275-300, at p. 275.

⁷¹ Ince. Recipe 196. However, for discussion of the problems and value of retrospective diagnosis, see Arrizabalaga, J., ‘Problematising retrospective diagnosis in the history of disease’, *Asclepio* LIV-1 (2002), 51-70.

⁷² Harvey, W., *The Circulation of the Blood* (New York: Cosimo Inc., 2006), p. 55.

Recipes for symptoms of anxiety, such as sleeplessness, feature five times in the work (recipes 59, 60, 61, 62 and 264). Three of these recipes (59 and 60, 61), all use the noun 'patient', appearing as 'patients', 'paschent', 'pashynt' and 'pacyent', and represent three of only five occasions in the entire work (recipes 203 and 219 are for other conditions), in which the term is used, which may be significant as all three insomnia recipes appear together. This might suggest that these recipes have been plagiarised from another medical work published by physicians who had enjoyed some success in treating sleep problems. Recipe 59 promotes a particularly unpleasant, but inexpensive and readily available solution to insomnia; the patient's own ear wax is offered as an oral treatment. There is no method suggested by which the ear wax is made up into a remedy, such as the use of hot liquid to melt it so that it could be drunk. Perhaps the compiler regarded this as too obvious to mention. The recipe is specific on one point which is that the ear wax used should be that of the patient. Recipe 61 contains a more attractive option with a rose and herb oil being blended which is then used to massage the patient's head. The principle of this recipe seems to be the relieving of all or some of the pains in the head and inducing relaxation and sleep both by the use of scent combined with massage.

Epileptic fits can be a very dramatic and distressing condition to witness. As a result, a great deal has been written about it for over two thousand years, as the medical profession grappled with possible causes and cures.⁷³ Considered a sacred disease by the ancients, it was believed in medieval Europe to be the outward and visible sign of an evil spirit or demon leaving the body. It is therefore hardly surprising that early modern medicine tackled this condition with great care and a high proportion of magic and prayers, as revealed in recipe 221 and analysed in full in chapter 3.

There are nine recipes (10, 14, 45, 95, 96, 98, 153, 188 and 202) that address treatments for eye conditions. Loss or reduction of eyesight is a matter for anxiety now, as in the sixteenth

⁷³ Engel, J. and Pedley, T., *Epilepsy: A Comprehensive Textbook, Volume 1* (Philadelphia, PA: Lippincott Williams & Wilkins, 2008), p. 16.

century, but in England during the early modern period it could result not only in a significant drop in living standards but risk the afflicted person being cast out on the streets if he or she were dependent upon a good level of eyesight to be able to work and did not have family support available. Vivian Nutton quotes St Augustine of Hippo (AD 354-430), who articulated the importance of sight, describing it as ‘the principal sense by which knowledge is acquired...’⁷⁴ There is evidence that poor eyesight might have social implications, particularly for women, as some conditions might result in the sufferer appearing to stare. For example, women were considered to be lacking in modesty if they appeared to be staring at men.⁷⁵ The iconography of female saints, particularly the Virgin Mary, very often depicted them with eyes downcast to emphasise their modesty and piety.⁷⁶ Determining what a sixteenth-century physician understood about the anatomy and function of the eyes can be found in writings of the classical period. From as early as 300 B.C., the most consistent anatomical theory concerning the function of the optic nerve was that it was a hollow tube through which a form of visual spirit passed and obstruction of that hollow tube meant the spirit could not pass and therefore blindness or part blindness was inevitable.⁷⁷ Following animal dissection, Galen produced a model for the ocular anatomy of the eye which continued to be taught to physicians throughout the medieval period, passing first into Arab-Islamic medical tradition and, finally, being translated into Latin from the eighth to the eleventh centuries.⁷⁸ So important was the treatment of eye conditions that at least ten treatises were influential up to the end of the sixteenth century. Medical writings prove there had been some shifts in the understanding of the physiology of the eye. In the medieval period, physicians noted that a fixed lens meant the patient had a blocked optic nerve, but by the Renaissance,

⁷⁴ Nutton, V. ‘Galen at the bedside: the methods of a medical detective’, in W.F. Bynum & R. Porter (eds), *Medicine and the Five Senses* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 7-16, at p. 12.

⁷⁵ Gowing, L. *Common Bodies* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 6, which refers to a seventeenth-century narrative: ‘A girl about ten years old, had got a trick of confidently staring in men’s faces when they were talking; for which her mother reproved her, saying; “Daughter, our Sex enjoins us Modesty, and you ought to be bashful and look downward when you are in men’s company ...”’.

⁷⁶ Moore, A.C. *Iconography of Religions: An Introduction* (London: SCM Press Limited, 1977), p. 268.

⁷⁷ Reeves, C. and Taylor, D., ‘A history of the optic nerve and its diseases’ *Cambridge Ophthalmological Symposium*, (2003). (London: Wellcome Trust Centre for the History of Medicine, 2003).

⁷⁸ www.stanford.edu/class/history13/earlysciencelab/body/eyespages/eye.html. Accessed 11 November 2013.

physicians believed that the organ of vision was the optic nerve, not the lens. The optic nerve was regarded to be the axis of the eye and the acuity of the central vision at the optic disc was said to be the result of a concentration of visual spirit where the retina met the optic nerve.⁷⁹ In the Ince book, remedies for eye conditions span eight recipes, which form 2.75 per cent of the whole work. The recipes offer preparations that clean and soothe scratched or sore eyes. Recipe 10 addressed gummed eyes, almost certainly conjunctivitis. Acute diseases of the eye are also described and, as in the rest of the work, remedies and therapies are very varied, including poultices, ointments, eye washes and ingredients that are highly complex to source and produce through to a simple recipe, comprising pounded raisins in black wool. The most logical reason for using black wool is to block out any light which may cause pain and allow the eye to rest. Considering all the recipes, it appears that the author of the work had a particular interest in eye treatments as there are many. It is possible that the range of choices is merely representative of a broad market of prospective clients, as well as existing patients. The range of recommended remedies reinforces this argument.

Recipes 183, 220 and 259 are all related to treatments for skin conditions, some of which are facial problems. The idea that a patient might consult a physician about a cosmetic affliction seems rather odd at first glance, as this would be expected to fall under the remit of an apothecary or, even more likely, a friend or member of the patient's family. This assumption may be misplaced, as the three recipes for skin problems do not specify the type of blemishes revealed by the condition which could also be perceived to reveal potential flaws in an individual's character or symptoms of a serious illness. Recipe 259 does state rather ominously, however, that if the recipe is used it should stop the patient's face from rotting. Recipe 220, which mentions blisters on the face, could be caused by any number of conditions that present vacillating blisters, including chicken pox. All these symptoms could also produce facial disfigurement carrying great

⁷⁹ C. Reeves and D. Taylor, 'A history of the optic nerve'.

stigma and potentially reducing earning capacity. The real difficulty for medicine was blemishes or blisters on the skin which could be signs of contagion. Smallpox, plague and syphilis all have rich histories and brought with them versions of skin symptoms that could well signal potentially fatal diseases. The idea of the body erupting from a sickness within a patient and shown on the skin was firmly established in society and the medical community as a whole. There is not a great deal published about the history of skin as an organ but recently *Scratching the Surface* edited by Jonathan Reinartz and Kevin Siena, examines the subject but in a slightly later period of the eighteenth century when it argues, skin became to be understood.⁸⁰ Two treatments (recipes 67 and 68) are given for another skin condition, ringworm.⁸¹ It is clear from the term ‘sleye the ryng worm’ that it was thought to be a living creature rather than a form of fungus. Gervase Markham (1568 (?) – 1637) has only one reference to ringworm in his work, and none at all in the papers of Dr John Hall of Stratford-upon-Avon (1575-1635), which suggests it was not considered a major problem or perhaps largely dealt with by domestic medicine.⁸²

There are three recipes for treating ear disorders and hearing difficulties (93, 130 and 133). Deafness is specifically mentioned in recipe 130. There appears to be little research carried out on the historical treatment of ears, but there are references to the deaf to be found in medieval and early modern sources. Deafness is a matter of degree and although the gradual loss of hearing is part of getting old, the elderly are not mentioned in the symptoms or treatments for ears. Medieval authors maintained the Aristotelian idea that hearing was crucial to procuring knowledge, believing that hearing conveyed the vehicle of thought. In some parts of Europe,

⁸⁰ ‘Introduction’ in Reinartz, J. and Siena, K. (eds.), *A Medical History of Skin: Scratching the Surface* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2013).

⁸¹ *Oxford English Dictionary*: ‘a contagious itching skin disease occurring in small circular patches, caused by any of a number of fungi and affecting chiefly the scalp or the feet. The commonest form is athlete’s foot. Also called tinea.’ Ring worm is now known to be a highly contagious form of fungus. In the sixteenth century and much of the twentieth century, it was believed to be a living creature curled beneath the skin.

⁸² Best, *The English Housewife*, p. 28.

including Spain, the custom amongst aristocratic families of hiding any children described as 'defective' included the deaf.⁸³

Recipe 131 describes a patient who almost certainly worked in agriculture as it is a treatment for either sheep's louse or a quick-worm in the ear. This is likely to be a problem related to shearing sheep, since the process involves the shearer holding the sheep's head pressed close to his face as the body of the animal is held, almost sitting up, tightly between the shearer's legs. This stance keeps the sheep steady and in a position that is still used today. The proximity of the patient's face to the sheep could well facilitate the passing of parasites. Despite this, it would be a mistake to deduce that the text was developed exclusively for patients who worked and lived exclusively in rural environments, as animals were regularly brought to market through urban districts and into the very hearts of towns and cities. Recipe 131 includes wormwood as an ingredient, and according to the principles of sympathetic medicine, wormwood would have been a logical choice to treat a worm or louse. Wormwood is a poisonous plant used in many medicines, regularly prescribed to kill parasites, or alternatively, as an abortifacient.⁸⁴

Moving down the human face, problems with the nose, whilst not mentioned in the Ince book, should be discussed here in terms of the olfactory system and the medical theories held about the sense of smell in the early modern period. Physicians of the mid-sixteenth century held the notion that nostrils contained small pap-like glands situated near the bridge of the nose that were attached to the brain. As vapours came into direct contact with the brain they were believed to directly affect the balance of humours. Renaissance anatomists were influenced not only by the centuries of classical medical philosophies, but by theories of cause and effect.⁸⁵ Sweet smelling herbs in nosegays were believed to have prophylactic properties as they disguised foul stench

⁸³ Plann, S., *A Silent Minority: Deaf Education in Spain, 1550-1835* (Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 1997), pp. 13-17.

⁸⁴ Riddle, J. M., *Contraception and Abortion from the Ancient World to the Renaissance*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), p. 48. *Artemisia absinthium* L., A.sp., along with Myrrh, is mentioned as an ingredient by Dioscorides, who said that it expelled the menstrua. Wormwood is known today as a poisonous plant that causes abortions.

⁸⁵ Dugan, H., *The Ephemeral History of Perfume* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2011), pp. 12-13.

when held before the face and consequently held disease at bay. Animal-based perfume commodities, such as civet musk and ambergris, were thought to be heavy and therefore able to counter miasma by weighing it down and stopping it from travelling through the air.⁸⁶ Oxford-educated medical writer Bartholomeus Anglicus (1203–1272) claimed that smell was a smoky vapour.⁸⁷ How medical practitioners of the early modern period used the sense of smell in medicine is certainly worthy of consideration, as diagnostics was largely a sensory experience and could give immediate evidence of contagion. In the case of halitosis, it was known that the smell may be evident on the breath, but centred in the stomach or gut.⁸⁸ Foul breath was the outward evidence of an inner sickness or contagion. Medical practitioners frequently used the Hippocratic miasmatic theories of diagnosing diseases, recognisable by the symptom of foul stench believed to be emanating from decaying tissue within a living or dead body.⁸⁹ As a result of this concept, bad odours were viewed as potentially dangerous to public health, but particularly threatening were those coming from the human body. Stinking vapours were seen as invisible enemies in the air that could travel some distance and were treated with great caution.

Recipe 28 considers methods to treat halitosis which recommends the content of the recipe to be introduced into the nostrils of the patient after retiring to bed. This method, according to the author of the Ince book, worked ‘with God’s grace’. Causes of the condition, other than consuming strong smelling foods, including garlic, were not due to poor oral hygiene alone. The lack of a cleaning regime implies potential unpleasant odours being caused by bacteria between the teeth and on the gum line, but halitosis can also exist as a result of disorders in the nasal cavity, throat, lungs, stomach or gut. Early recorded evidence of halitosis in society is referred to by Hippocrates, who advised on sweetening breath. Sweet smelling herbal remedies,

⁸⁶ Ibid., p.109.

⁸⁷ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* ‘Bartholomaeus Anglicus’ www.dx.doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10791. Accessed 20 September 2013.

⁸⁸ Palmer, ‘In bad odour’, p. 67.

⁸⁹ Dugan, *Ephemeral History*, p.108.

such as peppermint, were used to treat halitosis three thousand years ago.⁹⁰ There were marital issues of concern related to foul breath. *The Trotula* suggests that a patient should hold laurel leaves and musk under the tongue to avoid a sexual partner being repulsed by smells.⁹¹ This was particularly recommended during sexual intercourse, because, if intercourse was disgusting to a spouse because of foul breath, this might cause the partner to commit mortal sin through adultery. To provide a more contemporary comparison for the Ince book, Gervase Markham, in his book *The English Housewife* also includes two recipes for bad breath (p.16) one a drink, another a plaster, which is laid across the stomach.⁹² This process demonstrates the belief that bad breath resulted from deep internal complaints.

Treatments for diseases of the mouth and dental problems are significant features of the Ince book, with a total of eight recipes (15, 27, 28, 212, 217, 244, 250 and 251). Recipe 217 is interesting as it is one of the only references to child health. The recipe addresses what is described as a canker in the mouth. Closer examination of the contents suggests the affliction could be an ulcer or even an extreme form of thrush which is still common in infants.⁹³ Thomas Phaïre, a sixteenth-century writer on children's health, discussed canker in his work *The Boke of Chyl dren* (1545), which contains a whole section on the affliction. Phaïre states that canker is caused by 'corruption of the milke, venomous vapours arising from the stomake...' and then, with a note of caution, adds '...& of many other infortunes there chanceth to breede a canker in ye mouthes of chyl dre...'⁹⁴ Phaïre also discusses other oral conditions, including ulcers, which he describes according to the texts of 'the Grekes and auncient latynes...'⁹⁵ A comparison of contents of the Phaïre recipes with those of the Ince book reveals a distinct difference which indicates that medicine for a child, particularly if it has to be held in the mouth, should be

⁹⁰ www.ualberta.ca/~feggert/BREATH_2.HTM. Eggert, M. F. Accessed 11 November 2013.

⁹¹ Green, *Trotula*, p. 123.

⁹² Best, *English Housewife*, p. 20.

⁹³ Blenkinsopp, A., Paxton, P. and Blenkinsopp, J., *Symptoms in the Pharmacy: A Guide to the Management of Common Illness* (Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008), p. 307.

⁹⁴ Phaïre, T., *The Boke of Chyl dren* (Edinburgh: E. & S. Livingstone Ltd, 1957), p. 40.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.40.

palatable. The main contents include rose, honey, violet and myrrh for a breast-feeding infant and a stronger version containing pomegranate and red coral with the area of the canker washed with wine or warm water and honey prior to application. The Ince version is less sweet and more acidic, with little attempt to make it palatable to a child, despite its stated purpose.

Amongst the oral recipes are some for whitening teeth.⁹⁶ *The Trotula* also includes recipes for the whitening of teeth, which was presumably cosmetic rather than medicinal.⁹⁷ The process, if not the content, is similar to the Ince book in recommending an abrasive, made up of burnt white marble and date pits, white natron, red tile, sale and pumice to be rubbed on the teeth, inside and out, applied with damp wool wrapped in a cloth, presumably on a finger. *The Trotula* offers another recipe for whitening that also recommends chewing fine herbs and plants to sweeten breath: ‘...let her chew each day fennel or lovage or parsley, which is better to chew because it gives off a good smell and cleans good gums and makes the teeth very white.’⁹⁸ Public concerns relating to dental problems were substantial, as demonstrated by mortality bills of the early modern period. One such bill for London dated 1680 records that during one week in July there were no fewer than 29 deaths attributed to ‘teeth’. The remainder of the same bill attributes nine deaths to dropsy, one to ‘french pox’ and 57 to ‘gripping in the guts’.⁹⁹ Although these bills may now be medically inaccurate, society certainly believed that 29 people died from teeth conditions. Markham also offers advice about dental care and teeth whitening. Markham’s remedy 64, ‘To make teeth white’, mirrors the *The Trotula* process of five centuries earlier: ‘Take a saucer of strong vinegar, and two spoonfuls of the powder of roche alum, a spoonful of white salt, and a spoonful of honey; seethe all these till it be as thin as water, then put it into a close vial and keep it, and when occasion serves wash your teeth therewith, with a rough cloth and rub

⁹⁶ *Oxford English Dictionary* ‘late 19th century: from Latin *halitus* ‘breath’.

⁹⁷ Green, *Trotula*, p. 112.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.122.

⁹⁹ www.luna.folger.edu/luna/servlet/detail/FOLGERCM1~6~6~175231~110606:-Bills-of-mortality--Weekly----The-. Accessed 20 December 2013. The bill is reproduced as Appendix 5.

them soundly, but not to bleed.’¹⁰⁰ Dental recipes 15 and 27 in the Ince book are the same recipe in terms of usage and content, which initially suggests an oversight by the author, but also lends credence to the argument that there are two authors. The key process of these recipes involves polishing through the use of a paste made up of rye flour mixed with abrasive salt, with a honey content to make it more palatable. Recipe 244 for toothache is particularly interesting, if not optimistic, in that it suggests that a simple herbal treatment applied topically to the tooth will ensure a cure for seven years. The text often refers to other periods of remission or cure with great confidence. Markham, in comparison, offers three recipes for toothache, one of which has an unusual method of application, but shows an understanding that the nose, throat and mouth are anatomically joined. ‘For the toothache, take a handful of daisy roots, and wash them very clean and dry them with a cloth, and then stamp them, and when you have stamped them a good while, take the quantity of half a nutshell full of bay salt, and strew it amongst the roots, and then when they are very well beaten, strain them through a clean cloth: then grate some cattham aromaticus, and mix it good and stiff with the juice of the roots, and when you have done so, put it into a quill and snuff it up into your nose, and you shall find ease.’¹⁰¹

Markham offers a non-surgical option to extraction of teeth described as ‘To draw teeth without iron’, which means without the use of instruments, the dreaded tools of a barber-surgeon or ‘Toothright’. This recipe refers to the use of ‘green of the elder tree or the apples of oak trees rubbed upon the gums and teeth...’ which it is claimed would make them loose, allowing them to be pulled out easily.¹⁰² Like the remedies of Markham, those in the Ince book underscore that dental care should avoid the shock and brutality of tooth extraction. When teeth could not be saved, the Ince book suggests it is worth considering the use of raven’s dung (recipe 251). This indicates the author’s belief that particular animals or birds of certain colours had intrinsic values

¹⁰⁰ Green, *Trotula*, p. 19.

¹⁰¹ Best, *English Housewife*, p. 16.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p.19.

to medicine, thereby demonstrating the subtleties of the use of animal products (see also recipe 196). Unlike the remedies in Ince's work, Dr John Hall in his patient notes often provides detailed descriptions of the humoral principles of medicine, including dental treatments such as recipe 68, which was administered to William Compton, first Earl of Northampton. Dr Hall writes that the Earl was 'cruelly tormented with Pain of his Teeth, and very much molested with swelling of his gums...' The patient's symptoms of swollen gums were attributed to phlegm, the cardinal humour generated in the head, therefore explaining why gum disorders were described as wet and cold.¹⁰³ The author who translated Hall's patient notes from Latin into English, James Cook, added his own observation from Thonerus on how to deal with a painful hollow tooth with the use of 'Camphire and Vinegar' held hot in the mouth.¹⁰⁴

The upper torso, including heart and lungs, features in the next two sections of analysis. While modernity recognises the heart as a major organ, its treatment is only mentioned briefly in recipe 66, which offers a simple drink to ease the heart. It should not be assumed that people of the early modern period recognised the heart as a significant physical organ; it is important to set the work in the medical context of the time in which it was written. As with all studies, it is those items left out of a work that pose as many questions as those found within it. The heart according to Renaissance physicians working under humoral principles was the organ which held all emotions and passions. Alberti argues that understanding this point is crucial to understanding early modern ideas of cardio-physiology.¹⁰⁵

Unlike the heart, the lungs are well represented in the volume. Respiratory conditions such as coughs and breathing problems feature in nine recipes (29, 30, 101, 112, 114, 167, 271, 272 and 273). Three of these recipes offer treatments for various coughs, just as modern pharmaceuticals

¹⁰³ Lane, J. (ed.), *John Hall and his Patients* (Stratford upon Avon: The Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, 2008), p.123.

¹⁰⁴ Thonerus was the Latin name of Augustus Thoner (1567-1655) who was a director the College of Medicine at Ulm. Thonerus was a follower of Galen and Galenic therapy, except bloodletting.

¹⁰⁵ Alberti, F. B., *Matters of the Heart: History, Medicine and Emotion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 20-21.

distinguish between dry tickly coughs and bronchial or mucus coughs.¹⁰⁶ Andrew Wear discusses the medical community of the sixteenth century's understanding of the human respiratory system, citing the description of lung disorders by German anatomist Wirsung (1589-1643). Wirsung offered an explanation of consumption or lung disorders as the organs being damaged or corroded by extremes of heat, cold winds or onions causing excess blood. The force of the blood was believed to cause a broken vein which formed an abscess in the lung, thereby causing wasting in a patient.¹⁰⁷ The function of the lungs within the humoral theory was described as being like bellows, cooling and firing the furnace of the human heart. This description indicates a mechanistic understanding of their operation. Galen wrote in his description of the lung's physicality and purpose, 'It has all the properties which make for easy evacuation; it is very soft and warm and is kept in constant motion... and Blood passing through the lungs absorbed from the inhaled air, the quality of heat, which it then carried into the left heart.' By the time of the English Reformation, physicians understood the connection between the lungs and respiration without having any concept of how oxygen is carried through the bloodstream, just that breathing was essential to life and that the lungs were made of unusual tissue.¹⁰⁸ There was some confusion as to the psychological impact lungs could have on human emotion, shown by the 1497 writings of physician Alessandro Benedetti, a contemporary of Leonardo Da Vinci, who suggested anger could be controlled by the lungs, which fanned the fires of rage without which the anger would be 'otherwise implacable'. It was not until the sixteenth century that this view was challenged by Paracelsus (1493-1541). In his *On the Miner's Sickness*, Paracelsus identifies lung disorders, such as silicosis, caused by miners inhaling dust.¹⁰⁹ The Ince book does not identify consumption amongst the cough recipes, which is interesting as it was well known in the sixteenth century and definable, but patients often presented with a collection of symptoms.

¹⁰⁶ Ince. Recipe 29.

¹⁰⁷ Wear, *Knowledge & Practice*, p. 145.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 145.

¹⁰⁹ For more detailed discussion of Paracelsus, and the impact of his new approaches, see pp. 67-8, 96-7.

Recipe 30 which addresses a ‘chen kowhe’ is particularly intriguing. This might mean a ‘chink’ cough which can be heard as a metallic rattle or perhaps ‘chen’ means ‘chien’, the dry dog-like bark of whooping cough? A third possibility might be that it represents a ‘chin’ cough, meaning a cough in the throat rather than in the chest. One of the challenges of working with a newly discovered text is that it may include terminology which is not fully explained, and which is not directly paralleled elsewhere. In some cases, it may be possible to arrive at a diagnosis on the basis of clearly described symptoms. That is not possible in this case, so one can only explore possible interpretations of the name itself. However, there is no means of ascertaining for certain which, if any, of the above interpretations may be correct, and recent approaches within the history of medicine in any case question the value of this type of ‘retrospective diagnosis’, on the grounds that perceptions and descriptions of disease can only be fully understood against the background of the social context in which they are described, rather than purely as biomedical conditions. In the words of Jon Arrizabalaga, it is “difficult to imagine that any medical label of disease can be fully understood outside its relevant representational framework —always defined in terms of specific space-time coordinates.”¹¹⁰

Recipe 114 employs sympathetic ingredients including the dried lungs of a fox, crumbled into potage for administration to a person who has difficulty breathing deeply. This snatched form of breathing may have been the result of hyperventilation or acute heart and lung conditions. It does not seem likely that this recipe addresses asthma, as it is breathing out, not in, that is the difficulty afflicting asthma sufferers. Again, it is worthwhile drawing comparisons with Markham’s *English Housewife*, as there are some parallels in treatments offered for a new cough. Note in particular the recommendation to stay warm in bed during the time of treatment.

‘For a new cough

For a cough or cold but lately taken, you shall take a spoonful of sugar finely beaten and searced, and drop into it of the best aqua vitae, until all the sugar be

¹¹⁰ Arrizabalaga, ‘Problematizing retrospective diagnosis’, p. 57.

wet through, and can receive no more moisture. Then, being ready to lie down to rest, take and swallow the spoonful of sugar down; and so cover you warm in your bed, and it will soon break and dissolve the cold.’¹¹¹

For an old cough, Markham points out the cough’s potential to keep the patient awake during the night, thereby showing an awareness of different stages and types of cough when at their most irritating. ‘For an old cough...And in the night when the cough or rheum offendeth you, take as much of the juice of liquorice as two good barley corns, and let it melt in your mouth, and it will give you ease.’¹¹² Lady Elinor Fettiplace (1570-1647) produced a carefully written domestic receipt book, which offers an extraordinary number of treatments for coughs compared to the Ince book.¹¹³ There are eleven different cough syrups, including gargles for the throat, a chest rub and five different types of cough drop. Fumigation is also listed, with Elinor Fettiplace suggesting that a bronchial patient should inhale sage, hyssop and pepper laid ‘on a hot tylestone’, while a combination of spices and frankincense placed upon flax and secured between brown papers was otherwise known as a *Cap for the rewme* and was worn on the head like Jack and Jill of the English nursery-rhyme.¹¹⁴ The abundance of choice provided by Elinor Fettiplace, although not by the author of the Ince book, again re-enforces and deepens the understanding of gender boundaries when it came to health care. Cough remedies were in the realm of female domestic medicine and not necessarily for an expensive physician to dispense. A note of caution is also appropriate here; just because the recipes refer to ‘him’ in the copy, does not necessarily mean that the recipient of the recipe was exclusively male. Markham’s *The English Housewife* has some directly comparable recipes to those in the Ince book but it is important to appreciate that Markham’s book was written for a female audience, reflecting the importance of domestic medicine. Taken as a whole,

¹¹¹ Best, *English Housewife*, p. 15.

¹¹² Ibid., p. 15.

¹¹³ Spurling, H., *Elinor Fettiplace’s Receipt Book* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd, 2008), p. 1. Lady Elinor Fettiplace was married in 1589 lived at Appleton Manor near Oxford. She produced a fascinating recipe book which contains some medical remedies.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., p. 64.

the recipes within the Ince book combine ailments within the sphere of domestic medicine with those that might more typically be addressed by a physician.

The stomach and concerns about digestion feature quite strongly in Ince's work. There are four recipes to heal or relieve symptoms of digestive disorders (23, 46, 70, and 77). Medieval and early modern anatomists seem to have had a fairly accurate broad physiological knowledge of the structure of the digestive system. Named in the Ince book are the stomach, colon and the intestine. The stomach was viewed as a cold, dry organ situated in the centre of the body and acted as the distribution centre for food.¹¹⁵ As yellow bile was seen during the process of vomiting, the stomach was believed to be a vital link in balancing the humors of the body, as diet and ingestion were crucial forms of humoral control. People were seen as having personal humors and so remedies were often personalised according to their perceived balance in each patient. Forced purging by the use of emetics and laxatives was one of the primary steps an early modern physician took to cleanse a patient of ill humors.¹¹⁶ A particular interest from the four recipes covered in the Ince book is recipe 23, entitled 'Ffor the stomike'. This recipe does not suggest that it should be taken following the presentation of symptoms, so it is likely that the cure was designed to be a prophylactic against stomach disorders, which is common in other works.¹¹⁷ Recipe 70 recommends a poultice to draw out any evils from the stomach. It is not stated how the evacuation of the 'evils' might work, whether through the skin or inducing some form of purge.

There are ten recipes (42, 48, 49, 103, 163, 168, 179, 193, 203 and 222) directly related to the bowel, including for rectal bleeding and others describe blood being expelled with urine. These suggest the author recognised the separation of internal organs with regards to excretion and urinary tracts, although some of the rectal bleeding might refer to haemorrhoids or internal

¹¹⁵ Demaitre, *Medieval Medicine*, p. 253.

¹¹⁶ Lane, *John Hall*, pp. 25-26.

¹¹⁷ Wear, *Knowledge & Practice*, p.328.

injuries following a trauma. The types of treatments with the exception of a suppository recipe are almost entirely made up of various draughts. These are predominantly herbal, served in wine or ale, and one comprises simply scraped tree bark that produced a violent purge ‘up or down’ specifically stated for a man or woman (recipe 168). Recipe 203 is for ‘the blodye flyxe’ which in modern terms suggests acute evacuation involving bleeding. This treatment is probably severe diarrhoea, but may also be a remedy for haemorrhoids, although blood in a bowel movement can also appear as a result of a more sinister condition, such as cancer of the bowel.¹¹⁸ Conditions of the lower bowel and anus feature in two recipes. Haemorrhoids are swollen veins at the lower portion of the rectum or anus. Symptoms include rectal bleeding and the condition is painful and particularly debilitating during a time when horses were such a common form of travel, certainly for the wealthier members of society. Both recipes 219 and 280 claim to dry up haemorrhoids through the use of a salve, in 219 the patient is advised to introduce the salve into the anus.

Cleansing the system of illness through the use of an emetic or laxative was a popular method of medical therapy in the sixteenth century, also appearing in the work of Dr John Hall for example. Joan Lane notes in her introduction to Hall’s casebook that ‘The majority of his treatments began with a purgative preparation...’ This method of cleansing was also designed to expel from the body any excessive humours which were believed to be the cardinal cause of ill health. As some plants had particular qualities to expel a specific humour, such as agarics for excessive phlegm, it explains why there is such a wide variety of ingredients to be found in the recipes (39, 48, 49, 103 179 and 193).¹¹⁹ Recipe 39 employs just powdered bay leaves and stale ale as a simple oral remedy, whilst recipe 48 details the contents of a suppository as an alternative form of administration.

There are no recipes that address conditions or illnesses in the hips or legs, but there are seven recipes for the treatment of gout (11, 22, 52, 53, 87, 97, 136 and 158). Although gout can

¹¹⁸ www.nhs.uk/conditions/cancer-of-the-colon-rectum-or-bowel/Pages/Introduction.aspx. Accessed 28 November 2013.

¹¹⁹ Lane, *John Hall*, p. xxxi.

strike elbows, wrists and fingers, it is very usually expected to affect the feet, particularly the great toe.¹²⁰ Porter and Rousseau's study *Gout: The Patrician Malady* is pertinent to this study as it gives an indication of the type of patient who would be treated for gout.¹²¹ Gout was viewed to strike only the rich and over-indulgent who chose to eat rich food and drink to excessive levels.¹²² This rare insight into at least one social strata of patients is significant as there are so few other clues about patients in the Ince book. Gout presents as red and extremely sore joints accompanied by a fever and can be very debilitating. The seven alternative treatments for gout between them represent a substantial part of the whole work. The remedies provided in these recipes are almost entirely designed to be rubbed onto the sore area as a salve or ointment. The use of fox oil is discussed in full (see pp. 73 -74) but there are other interesting ingredients for the treatment of gout, such as wormwood (a known purgative, and toxic when used in excess) and old olive oil contained within a sealed pot that is put in a dunghill to cook for a period of nine days (recipe 53). The Marquess of Dorset, according to recipe 87, used a more expensive range of ingredients to treat his gout. As was commonly the case in recipes with costly ingredients, the word 'soffrand' is used in the title, indicating a 'sovereign' remedy, made of the finest quality, thereby justifying a high price. There was a commercial aspect to medicine and marketing tools were employed to justify the expense by giving such a title.

Whilst most previous remedies could be dispensed to both sexes, the following paragraph deals exclusively with recipes intended purely for men. Men's health is described in 13 recipes (12, 20, 38, 74, 106, 107, 108, 109, 109a, 112, 177, 182 and 284), including issues relating to urinary retention, stones and problems with the penis and testicles. Urinary retention is dealt with in a number of recipes, including recipe 12 entitled 'To make a man to pesse'. Although this recipe does not specify the cause of the difficulty in urination, one possible cause for this

¹²⁰ Porter, R. and Rousseau, G. S. *Gout: The Patrician Malady* (Printed in Great Britain: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 3.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 1.

problem is stones in the bladder or kidneys, also mentioned (without being specific as to whether these were in men or women) in recipes 180 190, 191 and 249. Stones in the bladder were a preoccupation in the sixteenth century, which is evidenced by the proliferation of lithotomists, early surgical specialists who operated on patients with bladder stones. Hippocrates (400 B.C.) specifically mentioned bladder stones, which were included in the Hippocratic Oath historically taken by newly qualified doctors: 'I will not use the knife, not even on sufferers from stone, but will withdraw in favour of such men as are engaged in this work.'¹²³ Lithotomists, from the middle ages, travelled around Europe with operating equipment and carried out surgery on sufferers from bladder and kidney stones.¹²⁴ This surgery was so painful and dangerous that even as late as the late seventeenth century, surgery for the removal of stones was considered sufficiently dangerous that not all sufferers chose to take the risk.¹²⁵ In light of this information about the surgical landscape and bladder stones, it is hardly surprising that a physician was likely to be the preferred choice of healer in men's health and indeed women's health. However, evidence for neighbours, including women, providing guidance on such matters without reference to a physician is found in a letter from Lord Edmund Howard to Lady Lisle, included in the important collection of sixteenth-century papers known as the Lisle letters, transcribed and analysed by Muriel St Clare Byrne:

I have this night after midnight taken your medicine, for the which I heartly thank you, for it has done me much good, and hath caused the stone to break, so that now I void much gravel. But for all that, your said medicine hath done me little honesty, for it made me piss my bed this night, for the which my wife hath sore beaten me, and saying it is children's parts to be bepiss their bed. Ye have made me such a pisser that I dare not this day go abroad... wherefore I beseech you to make mine excuse to my Lord and Master Treasurer for that I shall not be with you this day at dinner..¹²⁶

¹²³ Nutton, V., 'Medicine in the Greek World, 800-50 BC', in L.I. Conrad, M. Neve, V. Nutton, R. Porter and A. Wear, *The Western Medical Tradition, 800BC to AD 1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1995), pp. 11-38, at p. 29

¹²⁴ Wear, *Knowledge and Practice*, p. 18

¹²⁵ Porter, R., *Bodies Politic: Disease, Death and Doctors in Britain, 1650-1900* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2001) p. 173.

¹²⁶ St Clare Byrne, M. (ed.), *The Lisle Letters* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd, 1985), p. 107.

Unfortunately, there is no record of what was contained in the medicine that Lady Lisle gave or recommended to her friend that had such singular results.

Recipe 38 and recipe 109a address the painful condition of orchitis, an affliction causing the testicles to swell and look like orchid bulbs, described in the book as ‘ffor Swellyng balloks’. Besides swollen testicles, orchitis is characterised by blood in the semen and pain in the groin. Both these recipes specify identical treatment for the condition, namely barley meal and honey fried together into a hot plaster, placed on the testicles lukewarm. Further examination of the handwriting suggests it to be the same author so may be an error. Recipe 108 is interesting in that it is specifically for men who almost certainly have the condition of ‘haematuria’, which is the appearance of blood in urine. This recipe is entitled ‘ffor a man that pysseth blode’ and the recommended prescription is quite simple, calling for herbs and parsley seeds stamped together and served in milk, taken orally. Recipe 109 deals with urinary retention ‘ffor hem that may not well pes’. This also involves the use of herbs served as a drink, but in the more expensive menstruum, white wine. A condition of the penis is described in recipe 177, which addresses a swollen appendage, under the title ‘ffor swellyng of the y(thorn)yerde [penis]’, which again involves a fried poultice, including leeks and boar’s grease laid on the swelling.¹²⁷ Both the shape of the leek and the fact that the grease of a boar (a common symbol of masculinity because of its tusks in addition to being specifically male itself) suggests the use of sympathetic medicine here.

Thomas Phaire’s work also advises on the procedure to help children with swollen testicles, which insists that, under no circumstances should plasters or poultices be laid on the testicles if hemlock is present, for it would stunt growth of the testicles.¹²⁸ Although a penis

¹²⁷ Hughes, G., *Encyclopaedia of Swearing, Social History of Oaths, Profanity, Foul Language and Ethnic Slurs in the English Speaking World* (New York: M.E. Sharpe Inc., 2006), p. 197. Although now an obsolete term for penis, the word ‘yerde’, derived from Old English, was widely used in this period and is similarly recorded in other medical texts.

¹²⁸ Phaire, T. *The Boke of Chyldren*, p. 59.

swollen by an erection is entirely natural, the type of swelling brought by a medical condition is described as an 'evil' and therefore an acute condition.

In addition to recipes specific to men's health, there are also 17 recipes which seem at first sight to be specific to women. However, a note of caution should be applied when considering recipes for the womb, such as recipe 37 'ffor wormes in the womb'. While the term 'womb' could be applied to the uterus in the sixteenth century, the word was also used more generally to describe the lower abdomen in men and women. The uterus, confusingly, could also be described as the womb, mother or matrix.¹²⁹ It seems likely that recipe 37 is a prescription for the patient to clear a parasite from the lower gut, whether thread or tape worms. The description of evidence that the worms are dying as a result of the hot wine drink is engaging, as the sensation of what was believed to be the worms dying may actually have been caused by shifting matter in the bowel, which can be very painful. Barbara Duden's study of German patients, although eighteenth century in origin, describes how individuals were able to detect changes through feeling the body, however subtle, and thereby gauge ills or developments, including pregnancy.¹³⁰

Leaving aside such ambiguous references to the womb, women's medicine is discussed in 14 recipes (115, 116, 117, 118, 187, 215, 226, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277 and 278). These are notable because most are grouped together in two main sections; other groups of related complaints tend to be dispersed throughout the volume. This may indicate that the two groups have been borrowed directly from other works, although there is no evidence of exactly where they come from. The first of these 14 recipes addresses issues related to menstruation, while the second (274) provides advice on lactation, or breast ailments, such as mastitis. Regular menstruation was recognised from ancient times as being an essential part of fertility and was the

¹²⁹ www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/matrix. 'Origin – late Middle English (in the sense of 'womb') From Latin 'breeding female', later 'womb' from mater, matr-mother'.

¹³⁰ Duden, B., *The Woman beneath the skin* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), p. 5.

outwardly visible sign of a woman's ability to bear children.¹³¹ Interestingly, John Hall's book has 14 separate references to menstruation and Markham's only contains three and yet was aimed at a female market.

Diseases or conditions that strike the whole body of a patient rather than being centralised in one area included the infectious diseases. Although a matter of debate, a number of medical historians argue that syphilis was fairly new to English shores at the time the Ince book was compiled. Rashes feature prominently as a symptom and the disease was confused with leprosy, pestilence and plague.¹³² The disease swept across Europe in the 1490s.¹³³ In 1496, Albrecht Dürer produced a woodcut of a syphilitic aristocrat, which became one of the most enduring images of public health and contagious disease in the late Middle Ages (see Appendix 4). The image reminded individuals who saw it that the pox could take hold of anyone, including the rich. It also depicts the victim standing below a zodiac chart upon which the date 1484 is visible. When syphilis first appeared at the Hotel-Dieu in Paris in 1496, a multitude of patients were turned away by medical practitioners who thought this new disease was a form of leprosy.¹³⁴ Rumours later circulated that Henry VIII had caught the disease by a kiss from Cardinal Wolsey.¹³⁵ Despite these myths, people finally came to understand that the disease was sexually transmitted. As the effects of catching Morbidus Gallicus or the French Pox, as it was popularly known in England, were so distressing with the body covered in pustules that any possible recommended cure was taken very seriously indeed. The dramatic visual impact of advanced syphilis was considerable as the body could be seen to be eaten away by the disease leaving, in some cases, great holes through which the inner workings of their organs could be seen.¹³⁶ Recipe 284, one of the simplest forms of treatment involved only fumigation.

¹³¹ Smith, L., 'The living womb of the 16th century', *Journal of Family Planning and Reproductive Healthcare*, (2008), pp. 197-98.

¹³² Copeman, W.S.C., *Doctors and Disease in Tudor Times*, (London: Dawson's of Pall Mall, 1960), p.129.

¹³³ Arrizabalaga, J, Henderson, J. and French R., *The Great Pox* (Great Britain: St. Edmundsbury Press, 1977), p.26.

¹³⁴ Brown, K., *The Pox: The Life and Near Death of a Very Social Disease* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Limited, 2006), pp. 13-14.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹³⁶ Arrizabalaga, Henderson and French, *The Great Pox*, p. 26.

Dropsy and swelling of the limbs are other general afflictions and are discussed in recipes 7, 111, 113, 194, 211 and 240. Within Galenic medicine, dropsy was considered to be caused by a feeble liver which was not able to make blood properly, making water instead, the overflow of which filled the lower limbs and feet, which swelled. Dropsy was known to be the cause of swelling in other areas too, such as the abdomen; physicians considered the severity of the attack by listening to the sound of water in the patient's abdomen.¹³⁷ Whilst astrological medicine hardly features in the Ince work (see p. 103), there was a strong school of thought in the sixteenth century related to the idea of the pull of the tides and movement of certain planets affecting fluid in the human body. Each cycle of the seasons brought its own dangers, such as the second half of the year, when black jaundice, dropsy and kidney stones were rampant.¹³⁸ The content of the recipes in the Ince work employ herbs that are 'hot' by virtue, chosen to dry out the excess water from the sufferer. The medicines are administered both orally and as poultices, applied directly to swollen areas. There appears to be some logic in this therapy, as herbs were applied on a wet cloth which would be comfortable for the patient. Recipes 7, 194, 211 and 240 suggest imbibing herb and spice drinks at varying temperatures again in an attempt to dry out the excess fluid in the body through the use of ingredients believed to possess qualities of heat. This is further evidenced in recipe 194, where an oral medicine is offered at the same time as the patient is required to sit upright, with feet off the ground, situated over hot coals for a period of five or six hours, with the coals being regularly changed to ensure a constant heat. The therapy of hot coals and sweating found in recipe 194 was to be continued the next day if the patient was to be 'hole'.

The remaining recipes discuss the treatment of diseases or conditions that supposedly affect the whole body. Recipe 181, for example, deals with the body of a man or woman wasting away from a condition that is not described in any great detail and could thus be any number of illnesses, including cancer or tuberculosis. The recipe reveals hot ingredients used to stir up or

¹³⁷ Wear, *Knowledge and Practice*, p. 88.

¹³⁸ Chapman, 'Astrological medicine', p. 291.

revitalise the humours. So confident is the author in this recipe that he boasts that the patient will be restored, without doubt, should the sufferer eat the compound morning and night. No doubt recipe 185, ‘an oyntment for all maner of aches’, and recipe 279, which offers treatments for aches anywhere in the body, would both be popular as they offer comfort from a cooked salve made up of inexpensive domestic herbs. A physician who offered such a simple recipe as a cure-all may have raised some suspicions, as such a medicine was more often found in the market stall of a quack rather than prescribed by a licensed medical practitioner or university-trained physician. Porter suggests quacks flourished and epitomised ‘medical entrepreneurship’ in a society riddled by sickness. They took their place jostling for a market share as purveyors of healing alongside physicians and other healers in an early modern consumer society.¹³⁹

The great challenge to understanding the Ince book is breaking down groups of ailments by description and to understand that there were blanket terms such as ‘ague’, which could be symptoms of a multitude of illnesses from influenza to malaria.¹⁴⁰ Part of the human body’s physiological response to an infection is to elevate the temperature of the body in an attempt to kill off the bacteria or virus. It is appropriate to consider cases resembling malaria in sixteenth-century England, as it was fairly common according to historian Mary Dobson, particularly near marshy areas or estuaries. Pockets of virulent and repetitive strains of malaria have been mapped by Dobson from records of the day.¹⁴¹ However, she argues that some historians have published papers regarding epidemics of malaria, stating that the plasmodial infection was never indigenous or common in Britain. This indicates how difficult and conflicting it can be for the researcher interpreting contemporary descriptions of diseases.¹⁴² The term ‘malaria’, or miasmatic marsh fever, is taken from the French and Italian and translates as ‘bad air’.¹⁴³ There are nine recipes detailing

¹³⁹ Porter, R., *Quacks, Fakers & Charlatans in Medicine* (Stroud: Tempus Publishing Limited, 2000), p. 41.

¹⁴⁰ *Oxford English Dictionary* ‘malaria or another illness involving fever and shivering, a fever or shivering’.

¹⁴¹ Roberts, C., ‘Health and Welfare’.

¹⁴² Dobson, M. J., *Contours of Death and Disease in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 307. See also above, p. 36 for the problems of retrospective diagnosis.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p.310.

treatments specifically for ague, including 4, 5, 6, 75, 76 and arguably number 270, which is to treat fevers both hot and cold and one that involves the symptoms of severe shaking and trembling. This is the recipe which cites the authority of Gilbert Kymer.¹⁴⁴ There are also a number of recipes which describe fevers, but interestingly not the other common name for a fever at the time, which was ‘quartain’.¹⁴⁵ Some of the treatments are unremarkable, such as 43 and 78, which are made up of vinegar and honey or treacle or alternatively elder and sugar boiled up to make a medicine. Recipe 189 includes an intriguing title, ‘ffor the swetyng & burnyng a regina anglia’; perhaps a Queen of England was known to have suffered from this feverish condition. The span of recipes related to sweating are, as might be expected, almost entirely for conditions of profuse perspiration resulting from high temperature. Recipe 267 conversely, is offered for the man who cannot sweat and gives a remedy for a spicy foot salve containing cumin, perhaps to draw fluid evenly through the body.

The painful condition of sciatica, still notoriously difficult to treat, is mentioned in recipe 248, which suggests a foaming concoction and includes the use of black bay leaves. It is particularly interesting that the author describes treating the passage of sciatica as the pain can stretch from the lower back right down the leg to the ankle and foot, suggesting that the author had anatomical knowledge of the nervous system, or suffered from the disease himself. Sadly, the ending of the recipe is illegible.

Yellow jaundice was believed to be caused by a patient having too much choler, or yellow bile, in the stomach. For followers of humoral medicine, the sight of the bright yellow skin, or bile beneath the surface was one of the most extraordinary visible signs of humours out of balance, making the patient desperately ill and, in some cases, bringing death. The use of yellow products, such as saffron and turmeric, are again indicative of a sympathetic medical philosophy in the book’s *materia medica* and can be found in recipe 260 for the treatment of ‘Jaloue Jandys.’ A

¹⁴⁴ See pp. 7-8.

¹⁴⁵ Wear, *Knowledge & Practice*, p. 114.

yellow discolouration of the skin is not necessarily caused by jaundice, but can also be found amongst the symptoms of an acute malarial infection. An emetic infusion can be found for the treatment of fever with dropsy and jaundice, calling for the usage of saffron and turmeric in the writings of Dr John Hall.¹⁴⁶ One of Hall's patients was Joseph Jelfes, who was suffering with yellow jaundice and tertian ague. Thomas Culpeper (1514-1541), the English physician and herbalist, recommended milk thistle for jaundice. Donald G. Barceloux states that milk thistle has been used in the treatment of hepatobiliary diseases, including jaundice, for over 2,000 years.¹⁴⁷ Black jaundice is not mentioned in terms of treatment and expected to appear in the second revolution of the year and caused gout, rheums, dropsies and black jaundice according to astrological medicine.¹⁴⁸ A very clear description of medieval treatment for yellow jaundice can be found in the first section of *Bald's Leechbook*.

From bile disease, that is from the yellow one, comes great misery. It is the most powerful of all diseases; then an excess of humor grows internally. These are the symptoms: that his body all becomes bitter and turns yellow like good silk and under his tongue strongly black and bad veins and his urine is yellow. Let him bleed from the lung vein, give him often a stirring potion, stone baths (that is, saunas) frequently. Prepare for him then a calming drink of dock in wine and water, and every morning in the bath let him drink a mulled drink; it will alleviate the bitterness of the bile.¹⁴⁹

The Ince book also addresses what was the most feared disease of the early modern world. Plague was a word that could instil fear into every household as it had struck with biblical proportions in the fourteenth century. The great pestilence of 1348 was considered the most terrifying, although there was a second epidemic wave from 1360 to 1364. Deaths caused by

¹⁴⁶ Lane, *John Hall*, p. 209.

¹⁴⁷ Barceloux, D.G., *Medical Toxicology of Natural Substances: Foods, Fungi, Medicinal Herbs, Plants and Venomous Animals* (New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons Inc., 2008), p. 549.

¹⁴⁸ Chapman, 'Astrological medicine', p. 291.

¹⁴⁹ Cameron, M. L., *Anglo-Saxon Medicine*, p. 14.

plague reached 25 per cent of the Eurasian population, or nearly 100 million people.¹⁵⁰ It killed with what historians such as Ann Carmichael have described as ‘unimaginable speed.’¹⁵¹ Mortality figures for London alone were 30,000 between 1405 and 1407, and it would appear again in England every generation for the next three centuries.¹⁵² There were attempts to control the onslaught of the disease. It was recognised in the sixteenth century that contagion was all about distance and locality.¹⁵³ The smell or miasma arising as a foul stench from churchyards, filthy alleys and common ale houses was believed to signal hazards that could lead to serious illness and death. Actually touching the clothes or body of an individual who was suffering from the plague was considered the greatest risk.¹⁵⁴ Society was taught that plague could be lessened if homes were kept clean, cooking pans purged and the air sweetened through the use of perfumed flowers and herbs.¹⁵⁵ Bubonic plague killed half its victims within eight days of infection, whilst some survived as long as a month. Symptoms were vomiting, headaches, blindness, pain and delirium and the tell-tale buboes which appeared in the armpits and groin area, along with black gangrenous patches and subcutaneous haemorrhages.¹⁵⁶ It is hardly surprising that society was terrified of such a dreadful disease given its symptoms alone. Medical professionals across Europe tried desperately to control plague, the greatest protection being isolation. In the 1665 outbreak, physicians from Montpellier University experimented with drawing fluid from the buboes of the dead and injecting this into animals and volunteers, including convicts.¹⁵⁷ Few remedies came from such experiments. Three, however, are included in the Ince book (171, 204, 207), the first suggesting that three of four figs pickled in vinegar and one half taken each morning would act as a prophylactic. There is a prophylactic virtue in recipe 204, but also as a

¹⁵⁰ Greer, T. H. and Lewis, G., *A Brief History of the Western World* (London: Thomas Wadsworth, 2005), p. 294.

¹⁵¹ Carmichael, A., ‘Bubonic Plague: The Black Death’, in K. F. Kiple, (ed.) *Plague, Pox & Pestilence* (London: Orion Publishing, 1999), pp. 6-67, at p.65.

¹⁵² Shrewsbury, J. F. E., *A History of Bubonic Plague in the British Isles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. 143.

¹⁵³ Wear, *Knowledge and Practice*, p. 325.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 326.

¹⁵⁵ Dobson, *Contours of Death and Disease*, p. 29.

¹⁵⁶ Carmichael, ‘Bubonic Plague’, p. 61.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p.65.

drink to calm the symptoms of someone who has contracted the plague. Recipe 204 also seeks to keep the afflicted awake for sixteen or twenty-four hours. Perhaps there was a fear that if a patient slept, he or she would not wake again. Considered one of the greatest preventatives of the plague, the herb rosemary grew in such abundance in England and was readily available and inexpensive, making it a state-sponsored preventative even in the poorest of neighbourhoods.¹⁵⁸

Leprosy, another global scourge, is mentioned in recipe 256. There is no cure or comfort treatment offered for people suffering with leprosy, but five different ways in which the disease might be recognised. These systems of diagnosis are fully explored in chapter 3, which examines professional approaches.

The last section of this chapter considers the treatment of injuries caused by accidents, starting with torn sinews. Sinews, attaching muscle to bone, can be extremely painful if ripped or pulled. Interestingly, there is little reference to healing sinews in contemporary works. Dr John Hall's case notes do not mention a single treatment for torn sinews, perhaps leaving this work to the barber surgeons. Markham includes three remedies in his book, two of which are for shrinking the sinews by the use of herbal rubs and a third to staunch blood and draw sinews together if ripped.¹⁵⁹ The Ince book also contains three specifically for such a condition (44, 82 and 128). Sinews are mentioned in recipes other than these but combined with descriptions such as bruising. Recipe 82 suggests a bright green poultice made of fried up watercress fried with camomile, wheat and honey and laid on the sore place. The author describes then enthusiastically 'I done marvelouslye in such causes' which also proves he has directly treated people with this injury, and with success.

Like many other recipes in the book, those for accidents and injuries largely appear randomly batches (10, 47, 121-127, 129, 159, 161, 165, 206, 238, 242 and 252). A cluster at 121-27, all concerned with the removal of thorns (see below) may represent a single borrowing from

¹⁵⁸ Dugan, *Ephemeral History*, p.18.

¹⁵⁹ Best, *English Housewife*, pp. 46, 52.

another text, or simply a more concentrated approach to gathering information at the point at which that section was compiled. Amongst general injuries and the staunching of blood, more specific injuries are also addressed, such as pulled or torn muscles and also broken bones. Whilst bones were broken following accidents among all walks of life, the pulled or torn muscles were often caused by heavy lifting and other labour-intensive activities. Recipes 184 and 242 treat broken bones with the use of hazel tree, ‘cat’s tails’ and red docks, pounded once dried out, and administered to the patient in a drink which is unspecified. The nature of the drink was considered inconsequential as the recipe confidently states that the broken bone will knit in five or six days. All the recipes that are designed to heal broken bones do so through the use of medicines, poultices and plasters with no reference to the process of bone-setting by manipulation. Although the administration of potions and compounds varies from poultices to pills, one would imagine a stiffening plaster or at least a wrap of some form would be used to support a break. However, only an oral medicine is suggested in Ince’s book. The direct treatment of a broken bone remained in the hands of the barber surgeons, some of whom would have possessed bone-setting skills.¹⁶⁰

Recipe 229 is titled ‘for a man that ys brokyng in hys bellye’. This is a strange phrase, making it difficult to position this recipe not least of all because there is nothing but the title to consider. I suggest it could mean bleeding in vomit, urine or from the bowel and may be caused by illnesses such as cancer, but equally it could be as the result of an accident, or rupture. It could be referring to a patient who suffers chronic and/or acute difficulties with the stomach or abdomen and that patient had their health ‘broken’ in that part of their anatomy. Finally, it might refer to a hernia.

Ince’s book contains ten recipes for the removal and treatment of thorn injuries combined with remedies for any subsequent skin infection that might occur (10, 121, 122, 123,

¹⁶⁰ Wear, ‘Medicine in Early Modern Europe’, p. 293.).

124, 125, 126, 127, 129 and 206).¹⁶¹ Gathering roses amongst the leisured classes and displaying them in homes as well as using them in remedies, was very fashionable by the 1530s. The Tudor rose, made up of the white and red rose jointly, represented the fall of the Plantagenets and rise of the Tudor dynasty, and appeared in the gardens of the rich and leisured classes.¹⁶² In 1529, when King Henry VIII took over Hampton Court from Cardinal Wolsey, he greatly expanded the collection of pleasure gardens there, which included a rose garden.¹⁶³ Thorn injuries in skin imply domestic or agricultural types of accident, but are not exclusive to those sectors of society as may have occurred as a result of rural activities amongst land-owning classes. Countryside pursuits for the rich often resulted in thorn injuries; sports such as hunting were immensely fashionable in the sixteenth century amongst yeomen, aristocracy and royalty. Recipe 121 offers a very simple remedy for thorn removal and has just two ingredients, red rose root and bacon fat, both readily available and inexpensive as well as having almost no preparation time. However, recipe 127 is very different as it is made up of a complex blend of domestic herbs and saffron pounded together before simmering the blend in cat or pig fat, prior to cooling and application to the wound to draw out the thorn. The recipe also offers aftercare for the wound by recommending the use of powder of almonds once the wound has drained. Remedies for removal and treatment of thorns appear in other contemporary works, such as Gervase Markham's *The English Housewife*, which lists two recipes.¹⁶⁴

Accidents involving bleeding are addressed in recipes 238 and 252. What is unclear is the severity and type of wound that would benefit from these recipes. There is no reference in the Ince book to treatment of people who suffered injury or harm by acts of deliberate violence by others. Most cut injuries of the sixteenth century, such as knife and sword wounds, would be part of the medical remit of the surgeon with his suturing skills. There would remain, however, the

¹⁶¹ Ince, Recipe 10, Recipes 121-127, Recipe 129, Recipe 206.

¹⁶² Dugan, *Ephemeral History*, p.46.

¹⁶³ Ibid., p.46.

¹⁶⁴ Best, *English Housewife*, p.52.

need to treat infections following such injuries. Surgeons worked closely with apothecaries and gathered a range of commercial products to sell from their treatment rooms.¹⁶⁵

The book contains only one recipe for the treatment of burns (recipe 94), which is surprising as these would be common enough injuries with open fires, candles and spit-roasting forming part of everyday life. It is quite possible that burns were expected to be dealt with by the housewife as many homes contained a full domestic production of general cooking, including bread and spit-roasted meats, and also brewing both of which required the use of heat and open fires. It would be reasonable therefore to expect the housewife to collect a range of domestic remedies for burns, rather like today. It is also possible that the wealthy, who may have suffered a candle or fire burn, could have been treated by a family physician. The choice is likely to have been based on cost, but also the degree of burn injury.

In addition to a small group of anomalies, dispersed randomly throughout the manuscript, and which do not seem to relate in any way to medicine (1, 2, 166, 170, 232), the text also contains a group of apparently non-medical recipes found together (33-6) which relate to magic and to fairies. These are collected in a single group, apparently in a different hand, and spread over three pages and the beginning of a fourth. Since these fall outside the main content of the text, these are considered separately below (p. 104) in chapter 3 as part of a wider discussion of the integration of magic and medicine.

Within this chapter, I have surveyed the content of the Ince book moving from top to toe. With a few exceptions, the book is composed of medical recipes. The remedies and therapies suggested are varied, and cover a broad spectrum of medical practice from minor injuries, such as thorn removal, to some of the most challenging and deadly diseases of the sixteenth century, including plague. The range of injuries and ailments addressed suggest that the work was intended to be used within the boundaries of general medical practice, and there is no suggestion

¹⁶⁵ Wear, 'Medicine in Early Modern Europe', pp. 293-5.

of medical specialisation. Although in a number of areas there are multiple remedies suggested for the same or similar ailments, these are only occasionally found grouped together, and are more typically found distributed randomly throughout the work. This suggests either that the text was not intended to be a structured work, or that it was an early and incomplete draft for something that was intended to become more structured. Some groups of related material are found together, however, and there is evidence for internal numbering in some of the recipes, especially in the early part of the book, and this indicates that some attempt at structure was at least considered, even if it was not carried through consistently throughout the work.

The groups of related recipes may indicate a structured approach to compiling recipes from multiple sources on those particular topics, or the borrowing of whole sections from one or more other works. However, there is no clear evidence that the work was plagiarised. Whilst some of the remedies can be found in different or similar forms in the many other known contemporary works, there is nothing significant that proves the content has been directly lifted in portions from other texts, and authorities are cited on a number of occasions for the efficacy of particular recipes. As noted in the introduction, the author/compiler refers on several occasions to his own experience with specific recipes, leaving little doubt that he was a medical practitioner. The absence of surgery, with the exceptions of bloodletting and thorn removal, does suggest that he was very probably a physician, although it must be recognised that not all medical practitioners adhered in practice to the broad theoretical distinction between the focus of the physician on ‘internal’ medicine and that of the surgeon on ‘external’ medicine and surgery, and it is recorded that some surgeons certainly also addressed medical rather than surgical issues.¹⁶⁶ Nevertheless, the recipes within the Ince book are overwhelmingly concerned with medical issues within the province of the physician, for whom the core of their work was concerned with

¹⁶⁶ Pelling, M. and Webster, C., ‘Medical practitioners’, in C. Webster (ed.), *Health medicine and morality in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1979, pp. 165-235, at p. 165; Wear, ‘Medicine in Early Modern Europe’, 293-5. The distinctions between the different branches of medicine, and the training and education which underpinned them are discussed more fully below, at pp. 81-6.

preventative medicine, and with illnesses and their cure.¹⁶⁷ There is also evidence throughout the work that the writer was well educated, and perhaps university trained, which is indicated by classical references and the formalised system of writing and numbering in both Roman and Arabic numerals. This is also consistent with the scientific approach to ‘proving’ the efficacy of recipes, as indicated by forms such as ‘provy’ or ‘pbatm’ at the end of many recipes, although these are occasionally qualified by caveats which refer to the influence of God’s will. Again, learning alone does not necessarily indicate a physician. Some surgeons were highly literate, as were some apothecaries and cunning folk.¹⁶⁸ Equally, many who claimed the title of physician lacked any formal qualification, and many self-proclaimed physicians would have been regarded as quacks by the College of Physicians at the time. However, there were relatively few university-trained physicians in the mid-sixteenth century even in London, while outside London, licensing was not restricted to the College of Physicians, and by the beginning of the seventeenth century the majority of medical practitioners in rural areas were licensed through less formal means.¹⁶⁹ Nevertheless, on balance the evidence for some learning and at least a pseudo-scientific approach appear more typical of physicians than of other types of medical practitioner.

A few recipes make other reference to religious belief and, as mentioned, the text also appears to contain a small number of magical charms which might seem to be at odds with the evidence suggesting that the text is the work of a professional physician. However, the relationship between medicine, religion, magic and the supernatural, and the issues of medical education and training, will be considered more fully in chapter 3.

¹⁶⁷ Curth, L. H., *English Almanacs, Astrology and Popular Medicine: 155-1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988) pp. 139-41; Wear, ‘Medicine in Early Modern Europe’, p. 255.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid, 295; Davies, O, *Popular Magic: Cunning-folk in English History* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2003), p. 119

¹⁶⁹ Pelling and Webster, ‘Medical Practitioners’, p. 165. Curth, *English Almanacs*, p. 16-17.

CHAPTER TWO: INGREDIENTS AND REMEDIES

The Ince book is an important and detailed contemporary source indicating how a wide range of medical commodities were used in the mid-sixteenth century as remedies. This research adds to scholarship as there are, in some aspects of the history of medicine from the early modern period, gaps in understanding of how important remedies were to society as a whole.¹⁷⁰ Early modern historiography largely looks at the broad picture of the history of medicines, such as training and pan-European medical philosophies, rather than a more concentrated analysis of the first steps in medical treatment during this period. Michael Best in his edited version and analysis of the domestic handbook, *The English Housewife* (1615), writes about the medical recipe content of the book but only as one chapter in a work that also includes substantial sections on brewing, cookery and garden design.¹⁷¹ Remedies, both professional and those developed through custom in the domestic kitchen, formed the very basis of practical healing across society. It is safe to say that everyone in society at some time would have taken remedies even for minor complaints such as scratched skin or a cough.

Although analysis of remedies can provide evidence on matters such as practitioner overlap, shared ideas and medical commodities, the field of remedies still remains in need of more research. Andrew Wear agrees, writing that this field is important and yet has ‘often been ignored’.¹⁷² The dynamics of the wider picture of medicine both in terms of national economic and political structures has tended to engage historians over recent years along with the relationship between medicine and religion. Wear’s book, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine 1559-1680*, gives clarity as to the importance of understanding the development and response to remedies in early modern society, although there are still many more questions to ask such as

¹⁷⁰ Slack, P., ‘Mirrors of health and treasures of poor men: the uses of vernacular medical literature’, in C. Webster (ed.), *Health, medicine and mortality in the sixteenth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 237-73, at pp. 260-261.

¹⁷¹ Best, M. R (ed.), *The English Housewife*, Chapter 1.

¹⁷² Wear, *Knowledge & Practice*, p. 47.

evidence of regional shifts in terms of ingredient popularity and economic patterns. There remains considerable scope for additional scholarship on known works, whilst the Ince book gives an opportunity to work with a previously unknown mid-sixteenth-century medical text, with particular focus on the remedies themselves.

The aim of this chapter is to consider the selection of ingredients found in the Ince book against the background of shared knowledge amongst different types of practitioners, and of different medical traditions, as well as what the ingredients may tell us about either the geographical environment in which the book was compiled, or the wealth of the compiler's prospective patients. The chapter begins by discussing the range of remedies that existed across a spectrum of medical providers at various levels of expertise and how medical knowledge was exchanged. I will then discuss the difficulties of setting boundaries between medical professionals and domestic medicine in the production of remedies. I go on to consider the response from the commercial medical market-place made up of the physicians, surgeons and apothecaries to amateur and quack remedies. The text then discusses what was understood about medical ingredients and where professional practitioners and lay people alike might source knowledge about plants and their uses. These points have been the subject of much discussion amongst medical historians such as Porter, Wear, Pelling and Webster, with an emphasis on the passing of medical information amongst both literate and illiterate medical practitioners, from housewives to physicians to quacks, through a variety of conduits including printed and handwritten texts, but also oral transmission and tradition.¹⁷³ Throughout the sections mentioned above, I shall discuss how the *materia medica*, or corpus of ingredients found in the Ince book, relates to this wider background of knowledge exchange concerning potential ingredients and remedies, and I shall also discuss whether the *materia medica* is largely Galenic in content or whether the influences of Paracelsus are evident. This discussion aims to show not only the continued impact of the

¹⁷³ Ibid., p. 65.

teaching of Galen but also helps to date the Ince book. The next section briefly considers the availability of medical commodities made up of local and international trade, availability at the time of the Ince book and the import of drug commodities into England. The fourth part of this chapter gives an account of the use of animal ingredients in the work, including human products and how animal products work within the book's recipes. The chapter goes on to explore what is typical about the remedies found in the Ince book against other medical books both for the professional and literate domestic household markets. Whilst examination of other known medical works has taken place it has not always been in depth and certainly has not been carried out on the Ince book. I shall conclude by arguing that the range of ingredients places the work firmly in the Galenic tradition, with little evidence of the influence of Paracelsus, and that the range of ingredients is consistent with the mid-sixteenth-century date suggested for the manuscript in the introduction.¹⁷⁴ I shall further suggest that the spectrum of ingredients is larger than those found in most other comparable works, including both expensive imports as well as common native ingredients, and that this might either reflect a broader than usual knowledge of pharmacology, or that the text represents a work in progress, which might have narrowed down the list of *materia medica* further in the process of excluding recipes which could not be demonstrated or 'proven' to be effective.

Medical knowledge in the sixteenth century was circulated in a number of ways. By the time of the sixteenth century, the extension of medical advice texts, including medical recipes, was part of a plethora of domestic housekeeping books. These collections of remedies had cultural, social and economic implications and are essential to the depth of our understanding of sixteenth-century medicine today.¹⁷⁵ Despite a marked increase in domestic and medical advice books, the oral tradition remained the dominant form of knowledge transmission. According to Daniel Woolf, such information comprised the memories of individuals who learned from their

¹⁷⁴ See above, pp. 7-10.

¹⁷⁵ Wear, *Knowledge & Practice*, p. 48.

own experiences, as well as observing sickness and treatments in their local community.¹⁷⁶ Eventually some of this knowledge, which included health-related advice, would be recorded by literate members of the community and consequently a number of works were published, usually in the vernacular.¹⁷⁷ The impact of such change in disseminating knowledge meant that whilst the illiterate would continue to draw on oral traditions, the literate had ever increasing access to printed texts, but may well have used them in conjunction with their own folk remedies.¹⁷⁸ Some medical practitioners realised that popular knowledge at times had an element of accuracy, although they often stated that popular herbal medicine was in need of enlightenment to protect their own authority and status in the medical world.¹⁷⁹ The Royal College of Physicians proposed in 1585 to produce a pharmacopeia for the use of apothecaries across the country, although it was not until 1618 that the *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis* eventually appeared.¹⁸⁰ Although this was published for the benefit of apothecaries rather than general readership, the publication of such ‘authorised’ texts would also have informed practice in literate households and could thus have entered folk tradition. It was not until the eighteenth century that true testing of the efficacy of remedies preserved through folk knowledge began in England, but such investigations indicated that folk remedies could indeed be effective. Edward Jenner (1749-1823), in an effort to test the value of local folk-wisdom, found a revolutionary cure for smallpox.¹⁸¹ Although this is much later than the period of the Ince book, the nature of folk medicine means that much of the folk knowledge current in the eighteenth century was likely already to have been widely known in the sixteenth century, and the fact that the Ince book, apparently collated in the mid-sixteenth century, was still preserved by John Ince in the early eighteenth century directly reinforces the impression of long-lived medical traditions.

¹⁷⁶ Woolf, D. R., *The Social Circulation of the Past: English Historical Culture 1500 – 1730* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 274.

¹⁷⁷ Curth, *English Almanacs*, pp. 27, 154.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid, pp. 161-78.

¹⁷⁹ Wear, *Knowledge & Practice*, p. 60.

¹⁸⁰ Pelling and Webster, *Medical Practitioners*, p. 172

¹⁸¹ Shuttleton, D., *Smallpox and the Literary Imagination, 1660-1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 182.

The female culture of domestic medicine was not necessarily entirely excluded from the printed word, as some women were becoming literate. It is also probable that some books were read to individuals within households, whether the reader was male or female, extending access to book-based learning to individuals who were not themselves literate.¹⁸² Some women even produced domestic handbooks of their own, although very few of these have survived.¹⁸³ Both men and women cultivated herbs and plants in their own gardens that were gathered and used in the manufacture of medicines.¹⁸⁴ Specialist ingredients, for those who could afford them, could also be purchased from apothecaries.¹⁸⁵

A basic understanding of the art of physic and plant lore was expected to form part of the practical expertise of the English housewife.¹⁸⁶ Markham suggests an ideal housewife had to care for ‘the “health and soundness of the body” of her family’.¹⁸⁷ Physician Andrew Boorde (1490-1549), from the highest level of the medical community, recognised the value of domestic medicine, suggesting that ‘A good coke is halfe a physycyon.’¹⁸⁸ Boorde may not only have been referring to the preparation of remedies, but also to a housewife’s ability to serve a diet that was able effectively to balance the individual humours of family members and thereby ensure their good health.¹⁸⁹ There are obvious links between the preparation of food and medicine in the kitchen and, therefore, the making of medicines was largely seen as a female skill.¹⁹⁰

The term ‘housewife’ in the sixteenth century was generally applied to be someone of a social status who employed servants.¹⁹¹ Housewives were generally the wives of men who owned

¹⁸² Wear, *Knowledge & Practice*, p. 51. For the transmission of written knowledge to and by individuals who were not themselves fully literate, see also p. 00 of this thesis.

¹⁸³ Abbott, M., *Family Ties: English Families 1540 – 1920* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1993), p. 61.

¹⁸⁴ Travitsky, B. and Prescott, A. L., (eds.), *Making Gardens of Their Own: Advice for Women, 1500-1750* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007), p. ix.

¹⁸⁵ Wear, *Knowledge & Practice*, p. 55.

¹⁸⁶ Best, *The English Housewife*, p. xxx.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. xxix.

¹⁸⁸ Furnivall, F. J. (ed.), *The Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge A Compendyous Regyment* (Boston, USA: Adamant Media Corporation, 2005), p. 277. This work provides analysis of the published work of Andrew Boorde (1490-1549), a leading English physician of the sixteenth century who published a number of books on health.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 300.

¹⁹⁰ Wear, *Knowledge & Practice*, p. 53.

¹⁹¹ Stone, L., *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500 – 1800* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1977), p. 28.

property.¹⁹² Widows were allowed upon the death of their husband to retain fully all goods left to them by their husbands, but otherwise they were denied full rights of property.¹⁹³ For the poor, home treatment by a housewife was likely to be the only form of medicine employed when illness struck. A patient being treated by a housewife would often be treated by the use of ‘simples’.¹⁹⁴ The word ‘simple’ refers to an uncomplicated remedy preparation that usually comprises just one ingredient and is employed in domestic medicine.¹⁹⁵ Households with a little more disposable income had access to ‘cunning women’ who were available to ply their trade, very usually in rural environments.¹⁹⁶ Remedies could also be procured from healers, or empiric practitioners who might be regarded to possess particular skills of healing and a repertoire of medicines.¹⁹⁷ Sometimes, these individuals came from a line of family practitioners who passed on their skills and knowledge directly to the next generation so they could trade their medical knowledge. This lower order of healers was also joined by practitioners known by the pejorative titles of witches and quacks.¹⁹⁸ It is important, however, to appreciate that anyone working outside of the licensed sectors of medicine ran the risk of being accused of quackery, and Porter argues that the line between the practices of what was considered orthodoxy and that which was seen to be quackery was not necessarily clear.¹⁹⁹ Patients who could afford to spend more on treatment could choose from the full scale of medical practitioners, from itinerant pedlars to university-trained physicians. While this might suggest that only the well-to-do had access to physicians, the case notes of Dr John Hall provide direct evidence for the professional medical treatment of servants in the early modern period. Lane in her analysis of Hall’s notes, argues that valued servants of households

¹⁹² Laurence, A., *Women in England 1500 – 1760* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1994), p. 229.

¹⁹³ Todd, B. J., ‘The remarrying widow: a stereotype reconsidered’, in M. Prior (ed.), *Women in English Society, 1500 – 1800* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1985), pp. 25-52, at p. 40.

¹⁹⁴ Bylebyl, J. J., ‘The School of Padua: humanistic medicine in the sixteenth century’, in C. Webster (ed.), *Health, medicine and mortality*, pp. 335-7, at p. 352.

¹⁹⁵ Wear, *Knowledge & Practice*, p. 49.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.24.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.31.

¹⁹⁸ Webster, *Health, medicine and mortality*, p. 7.

¹⁹⁹ Porter, R., *Health for Sale: Quackery in England, 1660-1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), p. 15.

had their medical bills paid by the family they worked for.²⁰⁰ There may be many reasons why an employer would be so generous, the most pressing of which is that perhaps these servants made such an important contribution to the household they worked for that the doctor's bill was happily paid to ensure the servant could return to their usual tasks as quickly as possible.²⁰¹ This evidence does not suggest the practice was widespread, but does demonstrate that the practice of employers paying medical bills for servants was not unknown in English society. This point enables my analysis of Ince's book to cover a wide range of demographics and not to assume that every patient who consulted a medical practitioner was wealthy.

Apart from unlicensed quacks, there was a range of different licensed professionals involved in dispensing remedies. The bottom rung of the orthodox ladder was occupied by the apothecary, who could be consulted and dispensed medicine, and the surgeon. Occupying the highest rung on the professional ladder and ruling, if not policing, the medical marketplace was the more expensive university-trained physician, generally employed by patients who could afford to purchase such luxury.²⁰² All of these groups prepared therapeutics and remedies for a fee to society at large. The author Nicolas Culpeper argued that there were too many medicinal remedies, many of which were duplicated, and he went on in his own recipe book to condense vast numbers of recipes down to the one hundred he considered the most important.²⁰³ This desire to correlate remedies in groups of logical form to avoid duplication shows that literate medical practitioners, such as Culpeper, were aware of the vast array of remedies available. By reducing the number of remedies, Culpeper both reduced overall duplication and the different permutations of ingredients, making it more convenient for his readers to obtain the more limited range of ingredients required for a smaller number of recipes. Culpeper's approach probably consciously weeded out many quack references which he felt were of dubious value.

²⁰⁰ Lane, *John Hall and his Patients*, p. 31. It is not certain who Mary Heath was 'but her lack of title suggests a humble social status.'

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p.xx.

²⁰² Best, *The English Housewife*, p. 51.

²⁰³ Wear, *Knowledge & Practice*, p. 81.

The emphasis on ‘proven’ efficacy in the Ince book also implies a desire to weed out recipes with no demonstrable value.²⁰⁴ However, the very last recipe in the book, number 290, is challenging as it does appear to be a quack remedy that seems to resemble a cure-all, and yet the handwriting is that of one of the main two authors/compiler. The title is ‘A medesen for ye newe dysses’ and it contains rue, broom, bay leaves, elder leaves, bark, blackberries, white wine and white vinegar. The ingredients are held in a closed pot and the recipe suggests two spoonfuls should be taken each morning prior to breakfast. No symptoms that would be alleviated by this remedy, oddly enough, are offered in the recipe. Recipe 290, therefore, seems distinctive from almost all the other recipes in the book as the style is that of a cure-all and therefore quackish. The recipe may not be a comfortable find for this research project but has to be acknowledged, and adds weight to Porter’s argument that the illegitimate sectors of medicine sometimes gave ideas to the legitimate.²⁰⁵ One should further note that it was perfectly possible for people in the past, as in the present, to hold seemingly contradictory views. Wear also states that some professional medical teachings used elements of folk knowledge in their practices.²⁰⁶ However, the recipe is not one of those described as proven. If the Ince book is considered not as the working tool of a medical practitioner, but as a draft or notebook in preparation for publication, it may be that this recipe, together with others which did not meet the standards of ‘proof’ found throughout much of the work, might subsequently have been removed, as part of the editing process.

Compared to general, simple household remedies, some professional recipes contained scores of ingredients. Lane details how one of Hall’s recipes contained 43 ingredients, made up of 23 drugs in decoction which were then mixed with syrup, including chicory, and plants such as

²⁰⁴ See pp. 15, 63, 77, 103.

²⁰⁵ Porter, *Quacks: Fakers and Charlatans in Medicine*, p. 20.

²⁰⁶ Wear, *Knowledge & Practice*, p. 48.

mugwort.²⁰⁷ This complex polypharmacology was designed to allow the patient's body to select from the ingredients ingested and only absorb those required to restore the patient back to health.²⁰⁸ This proves not only that Hall worked within the Galenic tradition, but that his clients could afford to buy such an expensive preparation.²⁰⁹ Compound remedies were much sought after, and practitioners recognised the commercial benefits of dispensing exotic remedies; so too did merchants involved in exploration and the discovery of these new medicinal plants.²¹⁰ Physicians demanded substantial fees and there existed a degree of protection surrounding the university-trained physicians through their writing of prescriptions in Latin. Hall wrote all his patient notes in Latin, but these were not intended for publication, and the use of Latin ensured his patients enjoyed confidentiality, which was important as his case notes often included personal professional observations.²¹¹ Laurent Joubert, Dean of Montpellier (1525-1583), said that 'If prescriptions are published in the simple tongue, the mob will take them and trade in them.'²¹² The charitable view of that comment would be that Joubert was concerned about harm being caused if individuals, or 'the mob' as he called them, set themselves up as doctors before being fully trained. A more realistic view is that such competition would almost certainly have resulted in fees that were considerably lower than those charged by trained physicians and this would have posed a financial threat to orthodox practitioners. Nonetheless, complete secrecy was not the answer either, as that was to employ the methods of the quack who peddled in protectionist 'secret' nostrums.²¹³ Joubert's warning apparently did not extend to all the writers of popular medical books. Culpeper held a firm view that the vernacular should be used, citing historic precedents such as the works of Hippocrates and Galen.²¹⁴ However, Culpeper amongst

²⁰⁷ Lane, *John Hall and his Patients*, p. 171.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 171.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 171.

²¹⁰ Wear, *Knowledge & Practice*, p. 69.

²¹¹ Lane, *John Hall and his Patients*, p. xiv.

²¹² Copeman, *Doctors and Disease*, p.139.

²¹³ Porter, *Health for Sale*, p. vii.

²¹⁴ Tobyn, G., *Culpeper's Medicine: A Practice of Western Holistic Medicine* (London: Element Books Ltd, 1997), p. 50.

others was heavily criticised for publishing in the vernacular, and physician Jonathan Goddard (1617-1675) refers to him as a ‘foul mouth’d scribler’.²¹⁵ The Ince book and many others were written in English, contained only occasional references in Latin. Court physician Andrew Boorde published a number of works, some of which may have been bought by literate members of the general populace. Boorde wrote in English, with only a few comments or titles appearing in Latin, perhaps to give the work an added sense of academic gravitas.²¹⁶ Surgeons such as Thomas Gale (1507-87) and William Clowes (1544-1603) contributed towards the ever increasing number of vernacular texts on surgery.²¹⁷ Like Boorde, Gale showcased his expertise by using some elements of Latin in his work *Certaine Workes of Chirurgerie* (1563).²¹⁸

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, animals, plants and mineral ingredients were central to therapeutics. Everything which was created by God in his world was seen to have a medicinal use of some form and it was up to man to discover those uses.²¹⁹ As herbs form by far the greatest volume of ingredients in the Ince book, it is important to consider the form of herbals and question whether the text was intended to be one such work. Herbals as a literary genre were predominantly written by literate medical practitioners and were most prevalent in the sixteenth century. Some early universities, such as Padua, created their own botanic gardens, enabling students to gain practical experience of plants.²²⁰ However, in London it was not until 1673 that the Royal Society of Apothecaries established the Chelsea Physic Garden, although this quickly became acknowledged worldwide as leading the research into new medicinal plants.²²¹

²¹⁵ Elmer, P., ‘Medicine, religion and the puritan revolution’, in R. K. French and A. Wear (eds), *The Medical Revolution of the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 10-45, at p. 33.

²¹⁶ Furnivall, *The First Booke of the Introduction of Knowledge*, *passim*

²¹⁷ Lawrence, G., ‘Surgery (traditional)’, in W. F. Bynum and R. Porter (eds), *Companion Encyclopaedia of the History of Medicine*, pp. 961-83, at p. 970.

²¹⁸ Payne, L., ‘A Spedie Reformation’, in G. S. Williams and C. D., Gunnoe (eds), *Paracelsian Moments: Science, Medicine & Astrology in Early Modern Europe* (Kirkville, Missouri: Truman State University Press, 2002), pp. 71-93, at p. 77.

²¹⁹ Wear, *Knowledge & Practice*, p.78.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

²²¹ Minter, S., *The Apothecaries’ Garden: A History of the Chelsea Physic Garden* (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing Limited, 2003), p. 1.

While gardens were physical catalogues of medicinal plants, herbals were the foremost source of information about the horticulture and medical properties of various plants.²²² Plants were seen to have cleansing as well as humoral balancing properties and were believed to draw out impurities and the corruptions of disease.²²³ Herbals had a specific style of presentation which runs through all existing works in one form or another. This style can be loosely described as a book containing a wide list of plants, with each plant being represented by illustration and local details, including where the plant was grown or found, a detailed botanical description, names, virtues and growing pattern in terms of a calendar for planting and harvesting.²²⁴ Martti Mäkinen argues that herbals were not all alike, with some containing recipes, not just botanical information.²²⁵ Sometimes there was also a specific paragraph on the dangers associated with a plant or the hazards that came from mixing with other plants, or alternatively when a patient was suffering with a particular condition and the plant was contra-indicated.²²⁶ One of the greatest of these works was *Bancks' Herbal*, published in London in 1525.²²⁷ It was the inspiration of the many works to follow at a time when plagiarism in medical publishing was rife.²²⁸ Amongst those that followed was a work of particular interest to this research, *Gerard's Herbal*, first published in 1597.²²⁹ Gerard was born in the Cheshire town of Nantwich in 1545 and descended from a younger branch of the Gerards of Ince in Lancashire.²³⁰ This connection between the name of the Gerards' place of origin and the name of the owner of the Ince book is likely to be just a coincidence and there is no apparent connection. However, the name Ince is most unusual and, in

²²² Wear, *Knowledge & Practice*, p.46.

²²³ Ibid., p. 92.

²²⁴ Woodward, M. (ed.), *Gerard's Herbal* (London: Studio Editions, 1985), pp. 120-21.

²²⁵ Mäkinen, M., *Between Herbals et alia: Intertextuality in Medieval English Herbals* (Helsinki: University of Helsinki, Department of English, Unpublished dissertation 2006), p.158.

²²⁶ Ibid., pp. 37-39.

²²⁷ Best, *The English Housewife*, p. xxx.

²²⁸ Ibid., p. xvii.

²²⁹ Woodward, *Gerard's Herbal*, p. xvi.

²³⁰ Ibid., p. ix.

view of the contents of the Ince book and the fact that Gerard was both a famous gardener to Lord Burleigh and a medical practitioner, does make the link more than a little intriguing.²³¹

The Galenic principle of remedy content drew almost exclusively on herbal and natural treatments, whereas the popular German-Swiss physician Paracelsus advocated the use of chemical medicines.²³² Significantly, there are only three mineral-based recipes in the entire Ince book, which suggests that its remedies were almost entirely from the Galenic tradition, which in the mid-sixteenth century was still the most influential medical philosophy in England, if not Europe.²³³ This could mean that the work was written well before the impact of Paracelsus' mineral and toxicology philosophies; as such theories did not begin to make a significant impact in English medicine until the late sixteenth century.²³⁴ This lends weight to evidence that dates the book to the 1550s. Alternatively, the author could simply have been opposed to the new Paracelsian ideas, in contrast to intellectuals such as Sir Walter Raleigh and Bacon who wrote with approval of these new chemical ideas.²³⁵ There is, however, evidence that suspicions about the new chemical drugs ran across the medical marketplace, as many clung to the more established Galenic principles.²³⁶ Webster, citing Shakespeare as evidence, refers to medical practitioners of the late-sixteenth century seeming to be polarized into two distinctive camps, supporting either Galen or Paracelsus.²³⁷ Despite their differences, practitioners often agreed when attacking those who were deemed as uneducated and unskilled competitors.²³⁸ Notwithstanding the Ince book's Galenic leanings, mineral-based recipes are not completely excluded. Recipe 89, entitled 'a plast^r to heall all swellings & ulcers of legges y^t comyth of mallancoly

²³¹ Ibid., p. x.

²³² Wear, *Knowledge & Practice*, p.85. See also pp.96-7 for Paracelsus and his philosophies.

²³³ Ibid., p.76.

²³⁴ Ibid., p.39.

²³⁵ Spiller, E., 'Printed Recipe Books in Medical, Political, and Scientific Contexts', in L. L. Knoppers (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Literature and the English Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 516-33, at p. 524.

²³⁶ Pagel, W., *Paracelsus: An Introduction to Philosophical Medicine in the Era of the Renaissance* (Basel, Switzerland: Buchdruckerei Gasser & Cie Aktiengesellschaft, 1982), p. 301.

²³⁷ Webster, C., 'Alchemical and Paracelsian medicine', in C. Webster (ed.), *Health, medicine and mortality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 301-34, at p. 323. (Shakespeare, W., *All's Well that Ends Well* (1603-4), act II, scene iii, p. 1-22)

²³⁸ Wear, *Knowledge & Practice*, p.57.

ewmers or het causys w^t out breken of skene' is a rare example from the book of a mineral-based recipe, which includes white lead. This would have been expensive, though mined in Northumberland from the twelfth century.²³⁹ White lead was also widely used as an ingredient in cosmetics in the sixteenth century. The overlap between medicine and cosmetics has already been noted (see pp. 27, 32), and may perhaps have influenced the use of this particular mineral by practitioners who were either not exposed to or convinced by the work of Paracelsus.

Of particular interest in terms of the contents of the Ince book are references to the use of imported medical materials, alongside primarily indigenous plants grown in domestic physic gardens all over England. A degree of caution has to be applied when considering the home-grown varieties of plants, for there were, as there continues to be today, likely to be soil variations and differing weather conditions which impacted on the growth of some species.²⁴⁰ Foreign imports were a significant addition to commercial medicines in the sixteenth century, both for the retail trade and for direct use by medical practitioners.²⁴¹ England, by the early modern period, was a vibrant place with the interests of Renaissance scholars extending to all manner of things found in the discovered world, from arts to science and particularly travel and exploration. The celebrated sailors of England, such as Sir Francis Drake and Sir Walter Raleigh, navigated the globe bringing back to English shores their bounty of unknown cultures and climates.²⁴² These voyages of discovery, particularly in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, introduced a host of new medicinal herbs and drugs that were included in English remedies.²⁴³ The introduction of medicinal drugs was also quickly assimilated by physicians into the traditional teaching of humoral theories.²⁴⁴ Some of the cargoes contained plant samples that would have a significant

²³⁹ R. Finlayson and C. Hardie, 'Allenheads Northumberland Extensive Urban Survey', p.6. www.northumberland.gov.uk/archaeology. Accessed 3 December 2013.

²⁴⁰ www.landis.org.uk/downloads/downloads/structure_brochure.pdf. p. 6. Accessed 13 February 2014.

²⁴¹ Wallis, P., 'Exotic Drugs and English Medicine: England's Drug Trade, c. 1550 – c. 1800', *Social History of Medicine* XXV/1 (2011), 20-46, at p. 21.

²⁴² Wagner, J. A. and Schmid, S. W., (eds) *Encyclopaedia of Tudor England, Volume 1* (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, 2012), p. 921.

²⁴³ Wear, *Knowledge & Practice*, p.67.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

impact on pharmacology, including tobacco. *Gerard's Herbal* demonstrates this point with no fewer than five and a half pages dedicated to the newly discovered plant.²⁴⁵ This contrasts with a single page dedicated to the very useful 'wilde marjerome', which was believed to have qualities to cure those poisoned or stung by venomous creatures; an antidote to opium to 'cleanse away old coughs'.²⁴⁶ Tobacco, which is described as having the potential to cure many difficult and complex medical conditions when administered in a variety of ways, is not even mentioned in the Ince book. This may well be because the work was compiled prior to tobacco appearing on the shores of England in 1565.²⁴⁷

Examination of the imported drug market into England gives evidence of the most valuable ingredients. The importation of commodities that could be used in both the drug and food markets attracted considerable sums of money. Port books show that in 1565-1566, London imports of Moroccan sugar were valued at £18,000 and represented approximately 5,400 cwt.²⁴⁸ Smaller quantities of sugar also passed through lesser ports, such as Great Yarmouth in 1559-1560 and Hartlepool in 1593-1594.²⁴⁹ The history of English economics reveals that much of the sugar reaching southern parts, such as Southampton and the south west, was the product of privateering and therefore making it difficult to calculate total volumes accurately. Sugar and wine appear in many of the recipes in the Ince work, although they were predominantly imported as foodstuffs.²⁵⁰ At the top of the drug import list dated between 1566 and 1610 was theriac. This was a pre-made medical compound, which was believed to cure all poisons and contained 64 ingredients including various minerals, herbs and animal flesh combined with honey.²⁵¹ Theriac was not always of the same content and is therefore vague and unhelpful in this study's research

²⁴⁵ Woodward, *Gerard's Herbal*, pp. 90-95.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

²⁴⁷ White, P., 'Tobacco in Great Britain' in P. Boyle, N. Gray, J. Henningfield, J. Seffrin, W. Zatonski (eds), *Tobacco and Public Health: Science and Policy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 207.

²⁴⁸ Willan, T. S., *Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade* (Manchester: The University of Manchester Press, 1959), p. 314.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 314.

²⁵⁰ Andrews, K. R., *Elizabethan Privateering: English Privateering During the Spanish War, 1585-1603* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1964), p. 129.

²⁵¹ Pinault, J. R., *Hippocratic Lives and Legends* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), p. 52.

terms. The second most important ingredient in terms of value of import was sarsaparilla, followed by senna, wormseed and china roots. Closer examination of the drug commodities import market gives evidence that the impact on medicines bought and sold in England is not as broad as might be expected. The value of imported drugs in 1567 and 1588-89, for example, ranged between £1,000 and £2,000 a year.²⁵² Some of the commodities came from unexpected sources. For example, one might expect saffron to have been included amongst expensive imports, but saffron crocuses were also grown in great quantities in Saffron Walden.²⁵³ This meant that saffron could be obtained without the need for import, but it was nevertheless still something of a luxury. Apothecaries imported raw materials and traded in indigenous plants grown in all soils and weather conditions. Wallis, in his work on drug movement through port books, states that whilst household accounts and inventories reveal that some imported drugs were being consumed in the sixteenth century, the volume was small.²⁵⁴ The product senna has a similar status. In the late sixteenth century, it was one of the most commonly imported drugs, although ships' manifests give evidence that imports only provided enough of the commodity to treat a matter of a few thousand people.²⁵⁵

It is reasonable to assume that the compiler of a physician's book might be expected to have a core of ingredients that he considered to be particularly successful or readily obtainable. Therefore, those ingredients would appear more often in their writings. This is borne out by the substantial matrix to be found in Appendix 6, which should be treated as an extension to this chapter. The matrix charts the use of materials in key medical works of influence in the mid-sixteenth century: *The Trotula*, *The Birth of Mankind* and *The English Housewife*. *The Trotula* is the first of the medical works selected for this matrix, the background of which has been the cause of much debate. According to scholars, the texts are said to have been compiled in the eleventh or

²⁵² P. Wallis, 'Exotic Drugs', p. 26.

²⁵³ Hessayon, D. G., *The Bedside Book Of The Garden* (New York: Sterling Publishing Co. Inc, 1983), p. 298.

²⁵⁴ P. Wallis, 'Exotic Drugs', p. 34.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

twelfth century in the most important centre for medical teaching in Europe at the time, Salerno, in southern Italy.²⁵⁶ The manuscript appeared first in Latin and was later published across Europe in the vernacular.²⁵⁷ The book is known widely as *The Trotula*, with the name being drawn from the alleged female author of the work, and its texts comprising largely those relating to women's medicine.²⁵⁸ Whilst much speculation continues to surround the work, and the possibility of female authorship for such a text is interesting in itself, it is undeniably one of the most influential books of medieval medicine and served as a cornerstone of medical training throughout the late medieval period.²⁵⁹ In the work, alongside recommended therapies for very serious medical conditions, there are various recipes for cosmetics and dentistry, as in the case in the Ince book.²⁶⁰ The use of medical magic, including charms, also appear in the recipes as they do in the Ince text, and these direct correlations of type of content are significant, showing continuous usage.²⁶¹

The next work chosen for the matrix, chronologically, is *The Birth of Mankind*, published in England in 1540.²⁶² The book was an international bestseller running to thirteen editions, although that number is debated.²⁶³ This text was chosen for the matrix because it was popular, has some comparable recipes and dates closely to the Ince book. The original work was written by leading German physician *Eucharius* Rösslin. It was first published in German, then in Latin and, finally, in English. As a publishing journey, this genealogy is interesting as one might have expected the German translation to follow the Latin, and subsequent to the English version. Perhaps the Latin version was printed in order to heighten its appeal to university-trained physicians across Europe, given the book was an international bestseller. Thomas Reynald,

²⁵⁶ Green, *Trotula*, p. 3.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. xi.

²⁵⁸ Eccles, A., *Obstetrics and Gynaecology in Tudor and Stuart England* (London: Croom Helm Ltd, 1982), p. 11

²⁵⁹ Green, *Trotula*, p. 1.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

²⁶² Hobby, *The Birth of Mankind*, p.xvi.

²⁶³ Eccles, *Obstetrics and Gynaecology*, p.12.

recognising the success of the work in other countries, revised the text and published the book in English in 1545, probably for the professional medical market.²⁶⁴ Reynald was a self-styled physician.²⁶⁵ He was an example of a publishing opportunist, as such a published work would have been very lucrative over a long period of time. This detailed examination of one work demonstrates the level of success a medical book could enjoy in the mid-sixteenth century. It also indicates the academic credibility that writing such a work could bring to a medical professional, especially one who was keen to be noticed in a competitive environment.²⁶⁶

The last choice for comparison is *The English Housewife* (1615), written by Gervase Markham.²⁶⁷ This work was written and published for the domestic market as an advice handbook.²⁶⁸ This is an example of a non-medical professional publishing a popular work containing medical advice. Markham published a number of works, mostly on animal husbandry and particularly horses.²⁶⁹ I have chosen this work precisely because it was not intended for the professional medical market. *The English Housewife* is also appropriate because it follows the Ince book by about fifty years, and the author was born in a similar period. The publication is made up of chapters, each devoted to a particular skill deemed necessary for a good housewife, from cookery to home medicine, including surgery. It was a very successful work, running to a number of revised editions, and Jennifer Munroe states that it was one of the most commonly recorded books shown in the logs of ships destined for the New World.²⁷⁰

The matrix included in the Appendix offers some interesting comparative results, as illustrated in the following condensed charts. Among noticeable trends, they reveal that the Ince book has the most remedies containing herbal ingredients, and the fewest with mineral content.

²⁶⁴ Hobby, *The Birth of Mankind*, p.xix.

²⁶⁵ Eccles, *Obstetrics and Gynaecology*, p.12.

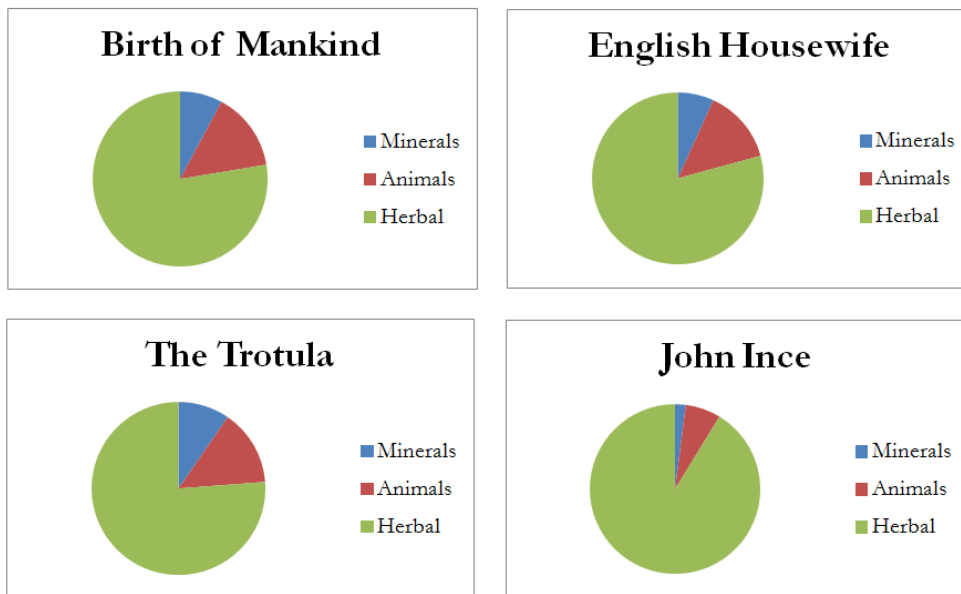
²⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 12.

²⁶⁷ Best, *The English Housewife*, p. xi.

²⁶⁸ Travitsky and Prescott, *Making Gardens of Their Own*, p. xviii.

²⁶⁹ Best, *The English Housewife*, p. xv.

²⁷⁰ Munroe, J., *Gender and the Garden in Early Modern English Literature* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2008), p. 31.



Out of the 84 conditions or individual diseases named in the Ince book, there are 290 recipes. Simple mathematics indicates that, in many cases, there is more than one treatment recommended to treat a condition. This range of options could be because the patients had financial restraints and there is no doubt that some of the choices offered to treat a particular disease were considerably more expensive than others. For example, in the case of recipe 121, it is suggested that the root of a red rose be steeped in bacon fat in order to ease out a thorn. Both bacon and roses were available to the majority of the middling classes at this time. Recipe 122 is for the same complaint, but offers a more expensive option, containing agrimony and polopde, steeped with boars grease and honey and then made up into a plaster that could be laid on the skin over the thorn. Bears were no longer indigenous in the British Isles by the sixteenth century and products from them would therefore have been imported, thereby increasing the ingredient

costs. For the treatment of ague, there are twelve different recipes, yet no suggestion as to why each choice might be offered, whether for different types of the sickness, regional variations or costs. Additionally, it is worth considering what an early modern physician might have meant by an 'ague', with the modern interpretation being symptoms of fever and shivering notwithstanding.²⁷¹ There is bound to be subjectivity in early diagnoses, and many sicknesses involved sweating and trembling and may have been confused with general fever. The recipes for coughs in the Ince book are more helpful in suggesting the range of choice available, as it offers recipes that increase in strength when a patient is seen to be in decline. This increase in the strength of remedies is indicated by the statement that the recipe is for a serious cough. There was also the possibility that a patient might not have responded to one recipe if his or her humours change as a result of the illness; therefore, the recipe was a response to the changed balance of humours in the individual. The author is also keen to provide concise information about the preparation of recipes, with instructions that ingredients, such as ale, should be either fresh or stale. This attention to detail proves the author was a man who believed that the subtleties and intricate detail of this work could determine the potency of a recipe.

The vast majority of animal-based ingredients to be found in the recipes would have been easily accessible. These include fox, cat and pig fat, whilst non indigenous animal products would have been sourced from specialist traders, as would exotics, such as unicorn horn. Unicorn horn was believed to have had properties that permitted users to both detect and cure against poisons and is likely to have been sourced from the narwhal.²⁷² Recipe 11 is of particular interest and features a fox. The remedy reputedly offered relief for aching joints and limbs for those presenting symptoms similar to those encountered with rheumatics or arthritis. The choice of a fox as the main ingredient is very interesting when one considers the nature and lifestyle of the fox and the animal's likely virtues. Foxes do not hibernate as is common among so many other

²⁷¹ *Oxford English Dictionary* 'malaria or another illness involving fever and shivering, a fever or shivering'.

²⁷² Copeman, *Doctors and Disease*, p. 143.

creatures. To early modern observers, the fox also possessed humoral qualities that were hot, confirmed by the red colouring of its fur. The recipe specifies that the fox should be found and killed by placing it in boiling oil. I would argue that this process sought to catch the very life essence or humour of the fox by killing it quickly, and in a manner involving heat, rather than adding such properties after death through the addition of other ingredients. Also significant is the type of pot specified for the manufacture of the remedy. Described as bright and shining brass, the vessel was able to take on all the heat of the fox and fire. The use of olive oil rather than water is also pertinent. Water, when it ‘seethes’, would be seen to evaporate into the air and the use of oil means hardly any of the essence would have been lost, either in the cooking process or after bottling. As unpleasant and cruel as the preparation of recipe 11 seems, the logic of how and why a fox would be used for such a recipe is clear on consideration of the system of humoral medicine.. In the sixteenth century, animals were considered part of God’s apothecary shop, and could be used as humans saw fit.²⁷³

Human products are also listed in the recipes, including breast milk. These are listed in the matrix under the heading of animal products, although clearly distinct from other animal ingredients. It is not uncommon to find breast milk in early medical recipes for the medieval and early modern period and into the eighteenth century.²⁷⁴ Copeman, on the other hand, gives a more gruesome example of human products contained in recipes. He refers to the use of a man’s skull, powdered and used as part of a professional remedy for epilepsy.²⁷⁵ Temkin also refers to the use of a human skull in the early treatment of epilepsy and points out that using a human product was not believed to be occult in nature by sixteenth-century physicians.²⁷⁶ One can see

²⁷³ The Holy Bible, Authorised Version. Genesis Chapter 1 vv 24 and 25. ‘And God said, Let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind, cattle and creeping thing, and beast of the earth after his kind: and it was so. And God made the beast of the earth of his kind, and cattle after their kind, and every thing that creepeth upon the earth after his kind: and God saw it was good.’

²⁷⁴ Lane, *John Hall and his Patients*, p. 39.

²⁷⁵ Copeman, *Doctors and Disease*, p.141.

²⁷⁶ Temkin, O., *The Falling Sickness: A History of Epilepsy from the Greeks to the Beginnings of Modern Neurology* (Baltimore, USA: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1945), p.146.

the rational basis for such a product in the treatment of this specific condition, which was believed to be centred in the brain of a patient, despite almost no research to back this up. Under the humoral system, the powdered skull was also alleged to hold qualities that were cold and dry, and therefore balanced and neutralised the excessive cold and wet properties of the brain which allegedly caused epilepsy.²⁷⁷

In conclusion, analysis of the ingredients listed in the 290 of recipes produces some significant findings about the contents of the Ince book. The author of the work was firmly of the Galenic tradition, with its pharmacology made up almost entirely of herbal preparations. There are hardly any references to those mineral preparations that might have been found in later works sixteenth- and seventeenth-century works, and representative of the philosophy expounded by Paracelsus. The contents are squarely of the humoral philosophy, which again reinforces evidence of the classical Galenic tradition. The nature of remedies largely overlaps with those found in the publications of university-trained physicians. This is not true of all the remedies with some, such as recipe 290, appearing to be similar to the work of a contemporary quack. The author recommends the usage of some imported drugs, such as cumin and the purgative senna, as well as costly home sourced commodities, including white lead, although other recipes feature much cheaper ingredients and, in some cases, alternative recipes for the same complaint would vary considerably in cost. The book therefore potentially addresses an audience of varied financial means. Ingredients of red and white wine are mentioned throughout as menstruums for preparations which were readily available in England, but certainly more costly than ale, which was more often brewed at home by the housewife.²⁷⁸ Although it is unique, it is very much a book of its time. The list of *materia medica* is just as would be expected to be found in a published medical book of the mid-sixteenth century, with the caveat that it is slightly more varied and comprehensive than other contemporary medical works published for either

²⁷⁷ Copeman, *Doctors and Disease*, p.141.

²⁷⁸ Best, *The English Housewife*, p. 207.

housewives or physicians at the time. The span of ingredients, both the expensive imported ones and the cheaper domestic forms, shows that this man was very familiar with an expansive range of *materia medica* and familiar with their medical uses.

The inclusion of some quack remedies is at odds with the general pattern which indicates a reasonably learned, thorough and pragmatic mind, at least by the standards of contemporary medical practice (see further discussion of context in chapter 3). As noted in this and the preceding chapter, the dividing lines between ‘professional’ and ‘quack’ were not always as clear in the sixteenth century as they might appear to modern eyes. However, the presence of these remedies should perhaps be considered against the background of the references to various authorities for specific recipes, and to some such evidence being ‘proven’ by the individuals cited, or by the compiler himself. This may indicate that some of the material which does not appear to meet the high professional standards of the rest of the work had been copied down out of interest, but was not regarded as highly by the compiler of the work as those items which had been demonstrated to be effective. One possible context for this would be that the text represents working notes, effectively an early draft, rather than a finished work, and this would be consistent with the uneven approach to the structure, and to the grouping (or not) of related recipes as discussed in chapter 1.

CHAPTER THREE: CONTEXT AND INTERPRETATION

Having considered the contents of the Ince book in the previous two chapters, I will now discuss the book in its historical context. I will begin by providing an overview of the political, social and religious landscape of the mid-sixteenth century in which the author would have lived. I also look briefly at the history of the medical book, showing growth and development over the centuries up until the time of the Reformation. Some legal aspects of publishing in the mid-sixteenth century are also discussed, as restrictive legislation profoundly affected both publishing in England and the distribution of printed matter. Finally, the contextual section of this chapter considers the markets in which books were bought, read and collected and how they were perceived both as educational texts, as well as desirable objects to own. I shall then consider how the contents of the Ince book fit into this broader context, and I will argue that the work is likely to have been compiled by a physician, drawing both on his own experience and on cures attested by others. I will further argue that, while it cannot be proven, it is likely that the manuscript is a draft in preparation for publication, rather than for purely personal use or for tutelage.

The Ince book was compiled during the height of the English Reformation. There are few times in the history of the British Isles that can match the dramatic upheaval found within all sectors of society during this period. In 1533, English political and religious tensions with Rome had come to a breaking point after Henry VIII divorced his queen, Katherine of Aragon, so that he could marry the marchioness of Pembroke, Anne Boleyn, making her the new queen. Following the divorce and re-marriage, England fully broke away from Rome, and Henry declared himself head of the Anglican Church in every sense. Many, but not all of the English bishops and other clergy broke with the Roman Catholic faith and accepted the new Anglican order. Henry's personal position on faith was not entirely consistent. In his youth, he had received the title 'Defender of the Faith' from the Pope for his involvement in the rebuttal of

Luther's tracts, but in 1534 legislation supporting the introduction of the Royal Supremacy over the Church of England specifically sought to limit the importation and circulation of pro-papal literature. Henry's own beliefs remained predominantly Catholic throughout the remainder of his reign, but tended to fluctuate in response to the religious and political alliances surrounding his successive marriage ambitions. As a consequence, the new Church of England did not become Protestant overnight, nor was there a straightforward linear progression towards Protestantism in Henry's later years. Nevertheless, England became increasingly Protestant throughout the remainder of his reign, and Protestant ideas, not least the active encouragement of literacy and the widespread use of the vernacular, had a wider impact on society.²⁷⁹ Henry was succeeded in turn by his three children: Edward VI (1547-53), during whose minority his regents adopted a more overtly Protestant approach to both Church and state; Mary (1553-8), who reintroduced Catholicism; and Elizabeth I (1558-1603), who reintroduced the Protestant reforms of her brother, although less aggressively.²⁸⁰ As discussed, the physical evidence of the book suggests a mid-sixteenth-century date, while references within the text provide a *terminus post quem* of February 1553, and a possible *terminus ante quem* of 1558 or 1563.²⁸¹ This thus places the book at a time of significant religious and political upheaval, while either Catholic or Protestant influences (or both in succession, in either order) could plausibly have been dominant at the time during which it was compiled.

To set the Ince book in the medical publishing landscape of its day, it is important to address the challenges faced by modern researchers of mid-sixteenth century medical writings. These challenges may be broken into three groups: conceptual, sociological and textual. Whilst the titles of some of the texts give a sense of the intended readership, they do not in themselves

²⁷⁹ Ackroyd, P., *The Life of Thomas More* (London: Vintage, 1999), pp. 222-3; Sowerby, T.A., '1535', in J. Raymond (ed.), *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture: Vol. 1, Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 537-47, at p. 537; Kuiper, B. K., *The Church in History* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Christian Schools International, 1951), p. 223; Denny, J., *Anne Boleyn* (London: Portrait, 2004), pp. 133-97; Duffy, E., *The Stripping of the Altars. Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), pp. 377-423.

²⁸⁰ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 448-77, pp. 524-93.

²⁸¹ See above, pp. 5-10.

reconstruct the actual situation in which they were used. Therefore, the nature of how medical conditions were perceived by the writer and user remain little more than a concept. Patients then, as now, had symptoms that approximately matched those that typically occur in people with a particular disease. However, the ways in which specific illnesses were considered, as well as the ways in which society as a whole perceived sickness, medicine and healing are also challenging, as the nature of conceptual representations is likely to be controversial and dependent upon factors such as expectations of health, acceptance of pain and religious beliefs, and a full discussion of these issues lies beyond the scope of this thesis.²⁸²

A picture does emerge, however, of changing attitudes of how Church and state were coming to see the field of medicine and medical practitioners in the mid-sixteenth century. This is evidenced by the founding of the Royal College of Physicians in 1518 by Henry VIII and The Company of Barber-Surgeons in 1540.²⁸³ These institutions saw the royal seal of dignity bestowed on both professions, which gave an indication that their work, suitably governed by appropriate professional standards, was considered desirable for society as a whole.²⁸⁴ At the same time, the regulation of both professions under royal, rather than ecclesiastical, authority indicates a secularisation of the role of medical professions, in keeping with wider trends in early-modern Europe.

By contrast, the remainder of medical practitioners in society, such as midwives and medical traders, mostly continued to be licensed by bishops through the ecclesiastical courts.²⁸⁵ There is evidence that concerns existed about the legitimacy of some medical practices in the mid to late sixteenth century relating to the use of magic and witchcraft in healing.²⁸⁶ Ecclesiastical courts had the power to revoke or limit the range of a medical licence if it was felt that the

²⁸² Wear, *Knowledge & Practice*, p. 3.

²⁸³ Davenport, G. And Leach, D., 'Introduction' in G. Davenport, I. McDonald and C. Moss-Gibbons (eds), *The Royal College of Physicians and Its Collections: An Illustrated History* (London: James & James Publishers, 2001), pp. 10-11.

²⁸⁴ Johnson, J. N., *The life of Thomas Linacre: doctor in medicine* (London: C. Roworth and Sons, 1835), p. 182.

²⁸⁵ Forbes, T.R., 'The Regulation of English Midwives in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Medical History* 8:3 (1964), 235-34, at p. 237.

²⁸⁶ Pelling, M. and Webster, C., 'Medical practitioners', p. 234.

practitioner had strayed into undesirable approaches. This again indicates that licensing was felt to be an essential tool, offering at the very least protection against unwholesome or dangerous practices.²⁸⁷ There are extant letters from individuals detailing their views, both good and bad, about the treatment they received at the hands of medical practitioners.²⁸⁸ Whilst views might change from one person to another, in principle such correspondence provides us with an important insight into real events.

It is important to consider from which branch of medicine the compiler of the Ince book may have come. Medical practitioners were commonly broken down into three professional groups: physicians, surgeons and apothecaries.²⁸⁹ This excludes other groups such as cunning folk, midwives, etc. who were also involved in forms of medical practice but without the same formal status. The Bishop of London and the Dean of St Paul's Cathedral were empowered by Act of Parliament in 1512 to issue licences to any physician or surgeon living within seven miles of the City of London. Members of the Royal College of Physicians were exempt from licensing.²⁹⁰ The first step in understanding the sixteenth-century English physician is to look at the training available within the profession. Physicians were scholarly, university-trained individuals who, prior to the Reformation, were drawn entirely from the ranks of the Church. In the fourteenth century, following the Council of Tours, Pope Innocent III had decreed that no ecclesiastics should shed blood.²⁹¹ This prohibition led to the rise of two distinct branches of the medical profession, the educated physicians and the unlettered surgeons.²⁹² The distinction between surgical and physical medicine was not absolute but in simplistic terms it may be described as physicians caring for the inner workings of the body and surgeons for bones and the outer body. The two branches of the profession would eventually work side by side and would be

²⁸⁷ Wear, *Knowledge & Practice*, p.27.

²⁸⁸ Lane, *John Hall and his Patients*, p.xxvii.

²⁸⁹ Wear, *Knowledge & Practice*, p.23.

²⁹⁰ www.rcplondon.ac.uk/about/history. Accessed 14 August 2013. Founded in 1518, by a royal charter from King Henry VIII, the Royal College of Physicians of London is the oldest medical college in England.

²⁹¹ Copeman, *Doctors and Disease*, p. 30.

²⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 30.

joined by the apothecaries, or dispensers of medicines.²⁹³ For example, records of physicians reveal them to have been classical scholars and, to a degree, linguists; these were essential elements of medical training and virtually all of the texts used for reference appeared in Latin or Greek. Records of the better known sixteenth-century English physicians provide a fuller understanding of how the profession had evolved. Boorde was one of the most respected priest-physicians in Tudor England. Educated at Oxford prior to becoming a Carthusian monk, he was appointed Suffragan Bishop of Chichester in 1521. Boorde then left the priesthood and trained at Montpellier medical school where he studied Galen and Hippocrates (see below).²⁹⁴ In his writings, Boorde offers an important insight into how closely physicians engaged with the beliefs of classical medical philosophies in day-to-day practice: 'If doctors of Physicke should at all times follow their books they shall do more harm than goode... such practising doeth kill many men'.²⁹⁵ This clearly shows that Boorde did not accept all theories as dogma, but adapted them to individual cases. The work of John Caius (1510-1573) demonstrates that Boorde was not alone in this view. Caius was a great humanist scholar physician who gave the view that not all classical medical teaching was accurate.²⁹⁶ It might be argued from these examples that some physicians were challenging ideas that had been considered the pinnacle of medical thinking for nearly two millennia. However, it is also possible that physicians had always picked over the training they received and adapted it for their own use and beliefs.

The system of education for a physician usually commenced with seven years studying what was known as 'The Liberal Arts', which refers to the seven courses of university study that were offered during the Middle Ages and into the early sixteenth century.²⁹⁷ The word 'liberal' in

²⁹³ Lane, *John Hall and his Patients*, p. xv.

²⁹⁴ Eck, V. (ed.), *British Architectural Theory, 1540-1750: An Anthology of Texts* (Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2003), p. 56.

²⁹⁵ Copeman, *Doctors and Disease*, p. 7.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

²⁹⁷ Giusepi, R.A., 'The Arts' various authors. www.history-world.org/arts.htm. Accessed 7 January 2014. The liberal arts, for instance, refer to the seven courses of university study that were offered during the Middle Ages: grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy. The student who finished these courses received a Bachelor of Arts degree.

this usage comes from the Latin *liberalis*, meaning ‘suitable for a freeman’, and intended for someone with superior intellect. After achieving this initial training, an individual with ambition might decide to attend a foreign medical institution. Italy was culturally the centre of medical humanism at this time.²⁹⁸ According to Margaret Pelling and Charles Webster, the sixteenth century was not a good time to study medicine in Oxford or Cambridge, as the major European universities were the main choice for aspiring and wealthy physicians.²⁹⁹ A desire for medical training in early-modern England is proved by the appointment of the first Regius Professor of Medicine at Cambridge in 1540 and at Oxford in 1546.³⁰⁰ A medical qualification required another three years at university. Subjects covered on the medical curriculum were: philosophies of the ancients (including anatomy), uroscopy, astrology, bloodletting, biblical texts and lectures on spiritual intercession, such as the appropriate patron saints of particular conditions, as well as practical subjects including the study of herbals.³⁰¹ Even after the Reformation, which was a time for challenging previously held ideas, a true understanding of the pathological or anatomical basis of their subject was still in its infancy but the first anatomical text books were starting to appear.³⁰² The early modern physician, despite possessing what might be described now as anatomical ignorance and afflicted by the vagaries of popular belief that surrounded his work, was still one of the influential figures in society. There existed a sense of confidence in the university-trained scholar and particularly so if he was one of the more progressive aspirants and had studied in one of the overseas universities. To become a physician involved a heavy commitment, with the whole process taking no fewer than seven years.³⁰³ In fact, a substantial

²⁹⁸ Pelling and Webster, ‘Medical Practitioners’, p. 165.

²⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 165.

³⁰⁰ www.admin.cam.ac.uk/univ/so/2012/chapter11-section3. Accessed 20 November 2013.

³⁰¹ Ridder-Symoens, H., ‘Catholic Universities’ in H. Ridder-Symoens (ed), *A History of the University in Europe: Volume 2, Universities in early Modern Europe 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 424. Virtually all continental medical schools were based in Catholic countries unaffected by the questioning of the Reformation.

³⁰² Nutton, V., ‘Wittenberg anatomy’ in O. P. Grell and A. Cunningham (eds), *Medicine and the Reformation* (London: Routledge, 1993) pp. 11-32, at p. 20.

³⁰³ Copeman, *Doctors and Disease*, p.62. By the early seventeenth century, Oxford and Cambridge had risen up the ranks of European medical schools, but it still took 14 years to become a doctor of medicine at Oxford and 11 years at Cambridge.

proportion of a man's adult life would be spent in training before winning the much-prized physician's cap and belt.³⁰⁴ The value of a physician in society as a powerful and learned individual remained throughout the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth century where, particularly in rural practices, a fully qualified physician was generally considered a rare commodity in the community. Whilst it is difficult to be precise, there are some statistics available about the concentration of medical practitioners in rural and urban environments. There was an estimated population in London in 1600 of 200,000 served by 550 members affiliated to the College of Physicians, 100 surgeons and 100 apothecaries with a further calculation of 250 unlicensed practitioners.³⁰⁵ No doubt there were many more quacks of unknown numbers plying their trade. Meanwhile the picture was somewhat different in rural communities, as Dr John Hall was the only physician practising in three counties, Warwickshire, Worcestershire and Gloucester.³⁰⁶

The term 'surgeon' traditionally described a person who carried out medical procedures with the use of surgical instruments. Surgeons were often educated and apprenticed before being licensed or accepted into the Company of Barber-Surgeons, ensuring a level of informed and experienced standards. Surviving records list individuals described as 'physicians, surgeons and midwives', issued with ecclesiastical licences between 1529 and 1767 in the city of London. Ecclesiastical licensing was put in place in an attempt to safeguard patients, by ensuring all those holding a licence had been first approved at the highest level of the Christian Church and deemed worthy to practice.³⁰⁷ None of the persons listed hold the name of Ince, which is worth considering as the work may have been handed down in the same family. This does not allow for

Foreign degrees from medical schools, such as Padua or Montpellier, were still more desirable and considered more scientific, despite requiring less time to complete.

³⁰⁴ Ibid., p.35.

³⁰⁵ Pelling and Webster, 'Medical practitioners', p. 188.

³⁰⁶ Lane, *John Hall and his Patients*, p. xlii.

³⁰⁷ www.history.ac.uk/gh/. Accessed 17 December 2012. Guildhall Library manuscripts record licences issued by the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's Cathedral, 1700-13; none survive for other dates. The Bishop of London and the Dean of St Paul's were empowered by Act of Parliament in 1512 to issue licences to any physician or surgeon residing within seven miles of the City of London. However in practice, very few, if any of the licences issued by them were to persons living south of the Thames.

the fact that even if Ince was the same name and family of the author, he may have worked outside of London where records are sparse. In fact, the Ince book contains few references to surgery, just bloodletting and thorn removal and so it is safe to assume that the work was not written by a surgeon. Both member and apprenticeship records of the Company of Barbers and Barber-Surgeons exist from 1522 to the nineteenth century. These records show young people bound to a master, who were likely to be members of the company practising around the city.

Apothecaries were often educated and then apprenticed for a number of years prior to opening their own practice. The word ‘apotheca’ describes a place where spices, herbs and wines were stored.³⁰⁸ In the mid-thirteenth century, an apothecary was a merchant or shop owner who bought and sold such goods. London apothecaries were originally members of the livery of Grocers, who in turn had developed from the Guild of Pepperers, who had a London association as early as 1180. In 1316, the Spicers joined the Pepperers. Finally, the spicer-apothecaries started trading and, by the sixteenth century, had become in some ways the equivalent of modern-day community pharmacists, dealing almost entirely in medical preparations, as well as cosmetics and perfumes. Lane gives evidence that some practitioners were both apothecaries and surgeons.³⁰⁹ Authority over their medical practice lay with the College of Physicians.³¹⁰

There is one intriguing piece of trading evidence in recipe 170 in the Ince book which is the record of a ship’s cargo. It is likely that this manifest was never intended to form part of the text if it were to go to publication. However, it is entirely possible that the content of the ship’s manifest could well indicate goods for a spicer-apothecary. The wine which is listed as forming part of the cargo could have belonged to a merchant spicer-apothecary, as wines had traditionally been stored and sold, although not exclusively, by this branch of medical practitioners.³¹¹

³⁰⁸ Hall, J., ‘Historical development of the health profession’ in J. Hall (ed.), *Pharmacy Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 8.

³⁰⁹ Lane, J., *Apprenticeship in England, 1600-1914* (London: UCL Press, 1996), p.117.

³¹⁰ Pelling and Webster, ‘Medical practitioners’, p. 179.

³¹¹ Norrie, P. A., ‘The history of wine as a medicine’ in M. Sandler, R. Pinder (eds), *Wine: A Scientific Exploration* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2003), pp. 21-55, at p. 43.

Despite these systems of training for various forms of medical professionals, there are still gulfs between what a modern critical observer would view as superstitious practices, whilst medical practitioners of the early modern period would see as simply another form of medical treatment. The outcomes, causes and effects recorded in the Ince work thus need to be considered against the background of the prevailing medical philosophies, together with whatever training the writer had received, and the material with which the writer would have been familiar from practical therapeutic texts, which might have been drawn from a wide range of literature.

In this context, it is important to consider ramifications of the Reformation on the book publishing trade which was heavily affected. The greatest impact on English publishing came in 1534.³¹² During that year, Parliament introduced three protectionist acts, one of which was designed to protect English stationers and binders from the activities of alien traders. The act ensured there was a complete ban on imported books and other reading material for retail, resale, or any other form of circulation.³¹³ This ban was directly related to the 1534 Treason Act, which made it treasonable to accuse the king or queen of heresy or tyranny either by word of mouth or in any printed form, with the intention of reducing the risk of uprisings against the monarch.³¹⁴ These acts had come about following a war of words with Catholic countries in which printed material was used extensively as a form of negative propaganda. Much of the printed matter was very bitter with insulting tracts, leaflets and illustrations published from both sides of the religious divide.³¹⁵ Meanwhile in England, a number of families, many of whom were highly influential, remained Catholic. The king, realising this potential problem from within the body of English society, ensured that any sedition if not completely quashed through clandestine means, was at least to be heavily controlled. By the summer of 1535, the king was again exerting control over

³¹² www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=79295&strquery=domestic%20papers%201534%20printing. Vienna archives. Accessed 10 February 2014.

³¹³ Furdell, E. L., *Publishing and Medicine in Early Modern England* (New York: Suffolk University of Rochester Press, 2002), p.39.

³¹⁴ Sowerby, T. A., '1535'.

³¹⁵ Ingelhart, L. E., *Press Freedoms: A Descriptive Calendar of Concepts, Interpretations, Events, and Court Actions, from 4000 B.C. to the Present* (Connecticut, USA: Greenwood Press, Inc, 1987), p.25.

printed matter with an order passed in June, declaring that the name of the pope should be abolished and erased completely from all books used in churches and from the memory of the English people in perpetuity.³¹⁶ These controls bred an atmosphere which encouraged inhabitants to buy English products.

One of the great benefits as a direct result of the ban on imported published books was to the English publishing trade, as the edict brought a great surge in sales of domestic and vernacular books.³¹⁷ That surge included medical books both specialist and popular. The change also enabled the literate populace to tap into a wider range of published works, for if a book was printed in the vernacular then naturally its potential market was much broader. This background is crucial to the interpretation of the Ince book as it was written around 1550 (see pp. 5-9) and it is possible that the work was produced for the purposes of publishing in a response to more favourable market opportunities. Although similar printed works had been distributed prior to the Reformation, including one of the first English popular medical books *In this tretysse that is cleped Governayle of helthe: what is to be sayd with Cystis helpe of some thynges that longen to bodily helthe*, printed by William Caxton in the 1480s, the change by the 1530s in terms of widespread accessibility is undoubtedly marked.³¹⁸

By the sixteenth century, medical texts had enjoyed a long and varied history in Europe and also across the Mediterranean in North Africa. The earliest known, the Kahun papyri of Egypt, are dated to around 1850 B.C.³¹⁹ However, the greatest influences on medicine in the medieval and early modern British Isles stem from the classical world. The most influential of the classical physicians were Hippocrates of Cos (c. 460 – c. 370 BC) and Galen of Pergamon (AD 129 -c. 200/c. 216). Hippocrates collected the medical philosophy of the humoral system and

³¹⁶ Sowerby, '1535', p. 538.

³¹⁷ Kastan, D. M., 'Print, literary culture and the book trade', in D. Lowenstein and J. Mueller (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Early Modern Literature* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 81-116, at p.89.

³¹⁸ Fissell, M., 'Popular Medical Writing' in J. Raymond (ed), *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 417-30.

³¹⁹ Riddle, *Contraception and Abortion*, p. 66.

Galen later shaped and refined the doctrine on which medicine would be practised as a theory for over 1,500 years.³²⁰ The natural, rational medicine of Galen worked on the basis that the whole universe was caught up with opposing forces of cardinal humours. The humours were believed to be made up of the elements of earth, air, fire and water. These elements possessed qualities of hot, cold, wet and dry, setting one humour against the other for domination making the human body, and universe, a battleground that needed constant balancing and re-balancing with opposing treatments and regimens. Treatments were based on diagnosis not only of the symptoms of the patient but also the natural humoral propensity of an individual by their age and even what star they were born under. Colours in terms of organ excretions were fundamental to diagnostics in the Galenic philosophy, which worked on the basis of recognising the balance of fluids in the human body. Red was blood associated with a sanguine temperament and represented the season of spring and youth in man; yellow was bile or choleric which was also of the season of summer and manhood; black bile was the melancholy humour of autumn and old age, whilst white represented the phlegmatic state of Winter and the decrepit man. The secret to good health was to achieve humoral equilibrium, (see Appendix 7).³²¹ There are no fewer than 16 volumes of Galen's work, all of which were copied by scribes and distributed and studied within the great medical schools of Europe.³²² Galen was a prodigious writer accounting for approximately ten percent of all surviving literature in Greek prior to 350 A.D.³²³ His work spanned the entire range of practical medicine and its basic sciences.³²⁴ Medical educational foundations grew and flourished in the early medieval period through, in some cases, to the modern day.³²⁵ Works in Latin, including translations of the Greek masters, provided the main teaching platform for the training of medieval medical professionals, as well as being part of

³²⁰ Cameron, *Anglo-Saxon Medicine*, p. 160.

³²¹ Wear, *Knowledge and Practice*, p. 38.

³²² Nutton, V., *Ancient Medicine* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2004), p. 305.

³²³ Galen, (ed and trans I. Johnston, I. and G. H. R. Horsley, (eds.), *Method of Medicine Books 1 – 4* (Cambridge, MA: Loeb2011), p. xlviii.

³²⁴ Kühn, K. G., (ed.), *Claudii Galeni Opera Omnia* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 001.

³²⁵ Bylebyl, 'The School of Padua', p. 335.

printed collections found in libraries of the good and the great. Thus the tradition grew of medical textbooks for physicians and medical practitioners appearing in Greek or Latin, often with some additions in Arabic, usually with the numbering system running alongside, or even Roman numerals.³²⁶ The Ince book, following this style, has both Arabic and Roman numerals in the text. The approaches found in the Ince book, and how these medical theories compare with classical texts are discussed below.³²⁷

Alongside the classical works there was also a growing body of vernacular texts by the sixteenth century. English medical texts in the vernacular can be traced back to the tenth century. The appearance of these texts during the Anglo Saxon period was unique to England, as these were the only extant medical texts at that time in Europe to be written in the language of their people, namely Old English.³²⁸ Much of the material has direct parallels in the material associated with Salerno, the main centre of medical learning in the early Middle Ages, with texts derived directly from the Latin and Greek traditions taught there. However, the Old English texts also include uniquely Anglo-Saxon medical approaches not found in the Salernitan tradition.³²⁹ Some of these texts were later known as leechbooks, as ‘leech’ was a modernised form of *læc*, the Old English word for physician, and texts of this kind have been gathered together and studied as a group since the 1860s.³³⁰ The two most important medical works in Old English are *Bald’s Leechbook* (c.950 A.D.) and the *Lacnunga* (tenth century).³³¹ It is not known who Bald was, but it is known he employed a scribe or compiler by the name of Cild. The work is a series of ailments and conditions listed under key headings, with each entry suggesting specific *materia medica* or

³²⁶ Siraisi, N. G., *The Clock and the Mirror: Girolamo Cardano and Renaissance Medicine* (Chichester, West Sussex: Princeton University Press, 1997), p.14.

³²⁷ See below, pp. 95-99.

³²⁸ Pollington, S., *Leechcraft Early English Charms Plantlore and Health* (England: Anglo Saxon Books, 2000), p. 49.

³²⁹ Singer, C., ‘A Review of the Medical Literature of the Dark Ages with a New Text of about 1110’ *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* (1917), pp.107-60, at p. 109.

³³⁰ Cockayne, T. O. (ed.), *Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early England* 3 vols (Rolls Series, London: 1864-6); Payne, J. F., *English Medicine in Anglo Saxon Time; Two lectures delivered before The Royal College of Physicians of London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1904).

³³¹ Wright, C. E. (ed.), *Bald’s Leechbook, British Museum, Royal Manuscript 12. D.xvii*. (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger 1955). *Lacnunga* is a collection of miscellaneous Anglo-Saxon medical texts and prayers (London: British Library Manuscript Harley) 585.

therapies to heal or ease symptoms.³³² This system of organisation provides a precedent for a structured approach to the grouping of ailments, followed by a single or series of treatments and/or therapies for the disease or condition.³³³

Early English leechbooks often contain references to magic charms, spells and amulets, presented in such a way that they are clearly part of medical practices.³³⁴ Significantly, there are also references to the use of complex religious narratives, almost like charms, which again can be found in the Ince book (see pp. 104-105). The comparison of the leech texts with the Ince work provides a sense of continuity with an unbroken line in the use of religious rituals and charms for over 500 years of medical practice.³³⁵ During the later medieval period, medical schools such as Salerno produced key medical texts including specialist works.³³⁶

Sixteenth-century medical books form three main groups: domestic handbooks for the popular market; general medical books largely for medical practitioners; and specialist interest works for the professional market, focussing on fields such as obstetrics. Specialist works also included books by surgeons, such as Thomas Gale (1507-1587) and William Clowes (1544-1603) both of whom contributed towards the ever increasing number of vernacular texts on surgery.³³⁷ Gale's most famous publication was *Certaine Workes of Chirurgerie* (1563).³³⁸ It is easy to see why some specialist books were particularly successful, such as works on human reproduction. This success is no doubt a result of the preoccupation of influential early modern families with marriage and inheritance, set in a social landscape which used children as chess pieces on a board of power. Some of the published works proved lucrative over a long period of time for the publisher, author, or both, going on to be re-published frequently and very often across

³³² Cameron, *Anglo-Saxon Medicine*, pp. 30, 100.

³³³ Meaney, A. L., 'Variant versions of Old English medical remedies', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 13 (1984), pp. 235-68, at p. 258.

³³⁴ Pollington, *Leechcraft*, p. 50.

³³⁵ Green, *Trotula*, p. 78.

³³⁶ Duffin, J., *Medical Saints: Cosmas and Damian in a Postmodern World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 122.

³³⁷ Payne, 'A Spedie Reformation', pp. 77-78.

³³⁸ www.archive.org/details/certainevvorkeso00gale. Accessed 20 February 2014.

Europe.³³⁹ One such specialist work mentioned earlier in this thesis was *The Birth of Mankind*, which was an international bestseller in Europe appearing in a number of languages and went to at least twelve further editions after appearing for the first time in the English language in 1545.³⁴⁰ The frequency of reprinting provides some sense of the success of other notable books. By 1660, Thomas Moulton's *Myrrour or glasse of helth* (1536) went to 23 editions; His *Regimen sanitatis Salerni* (1528) which went to 19 editions; Sir Thomas Elyot's *The castell of helthe* (1537) went to 17 editions; and his *Erra Pater* (1540) went to 16 editions.³⁴¹ It is entirely possible that both specialist and general medical books were read by people who were not necessarily medical practitioners, but merely interested in medicine. Equally, it is reasonable to assume that doctors also read domestic handbooks.

Mary Fissell points out that, in the latter part of the sixteenth century, an increasing number of books about general medicine for interested members of the public began to appear.³⁴² However, these were not the only books to include medical recipes. Fissell has previously defined popular medical books as those that advise on the three R's: 'regimen, recipes, and religion.'³⁴³ The Ince book addresses all three R's, although by far the greatest emphasis is placed on the recipes. It has been calculated that 20% of the content of all medical books published between the invention of the printing press and the middle of the seventeenth century were in the form of recipes.³⁴⁴ Some other forms of popular published works overlapped with medical works in terms of content to a greater or lesser degree, and it is important to consider these categories in order to establish whether the Ince book might have been intended as a medical book, or to meet some other market need which also included a medical component.

³³⁹ Fissell, 'Popular Medical Writing', pp. 426-427.

³⁴⁰ *The Birth of Mankind*, translated by Richard Jonas from *Du partu Hominis*, which was itself a translation by Christian Egenolph from the German original (published 1513), *Der Swangern Frauen und Habammen Rostgarten* (in itself believed to have classical and Arabic roots) by Eucharius Rösslin, the state physician of Frankfurt-am-Main and Worms.

³⁴¹ See Appendix 8.

³⁴² Fissell, 'Popular Medical Writing', p. 426.

³⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 419.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 421.

One such body of works were almanacs, which were very popular and widely distributed in early modern England.³⁴⁵ By the 1550s, almanacs began to be printed in London in large numbers, virtually all of which were translations of European publications.³⁴⁶ They typically contained calendars marking events such as religious festivals, lunar cycles and prophecies about social issues including public health. All of the prophecies were calculated against the movement of the heavens and written up by ‘stargazers.’³⁴⁷ Almanacs often provided more specific information related to sectors of society, such as those engaged in certain occupations or who lived in a particular region. The authors who provided medical advice in their almanacs often identified themselves as practitioners of mathematics, drawing on a broader definition of mathematics as any arts which included calculations, including astrology.³⁴⁸ Medical material in such works is firmly rooted in the orthodox system of Galenic medicine, which is largely consistent with the Ince book. However, these books stressed the astrological and Zodiac based elements of the Galenic tradition which, as discussed on p. 00, are almost completely absent from the Ince book.³⁴⁹ Almanacs also typically promoted an overall regimen of good health based on preventative medicine, diet, exercise, good air, sleep and emotional stability to retain a proper balance between the humors.³⁵⁰ This is again very distinct from the emphasis on individual remedies found throughout the Ince book.

Popular printed works, including almanacs, were often small in size, octavo, which is the same size as the Ince book, although this may not be particularly significant. The small size of octavo made such works easy to carry and cheaper to produce, so there were practical advantages to the format irrespective of content.³⁵¹ However, almanacs, both in design and usage are not

³⁴⁵ Capp, B., *Astrology and the Popular Press: English Almanacs 1500 – 1800* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd, 2008), p.20.

³⁴⁶ Curth, L. H., *English Almanacs* p. 36.

³⁴⁷ Walsham, A., *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 174.

³⁴⁸ Curth, *English Almanacs*, p. 63.

³⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 131.

³⁵⁰ Ibid, p. 153.

³⁵¹ Kassell, L. K., ‘Almanacs and Prognostications’ in J. Raymond (ed.), *Oxford History of Popular Print Culture: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 431-42, at p. 433.

directly comparable to the Ince book, which only contains a single chart (recipe 69) which advises on the appropriate months of the year to let a patient's blood, whereas charts were a common feature in almanacs. What is noticeable about these best-selling works is their inclusion together of what the modern observer may consider to be material with no logical associations, such as advice on agriculture and weather predictions. There is even a calendar of fairs and a chronological list of kings and queens of England in one work.³⁵² While the Ince book is also largely unstructured in as much as recipes for associated ailments are not routinely grouped together, and the work contains a few items not related to mainstream medicine, it clearly lacks the breadth of subjects as well as the chart-based format of the almanac.

Within its medical coverage, the broad span of ailments clearly suggests a general medical book rather than a specialist text. As such, it could have been compiled by an apothecary, as some members of the profession were literate, with evidence of individuals having collections of books.³⁵³ There is more than one precedent of such works written by apothecaries and herbalists. *Gerard's Herbal* (1597) is a particularly well known example, and in the seventeenth century, *Culpepper's Complete Herbal* (1652) would also prove very popular.³⁵⁴

The broadness of socio-economic availability and distribution of popular books is interesting, as the mid-sixteenth-century market fed itself. The more popular a book was, the more copies were printed and the greater the economies of scale. As a result, publishers could reduce their prices, as could the traders in a competitive and vibrant market in which publishers jostled for maximum market share. There has always been an interest in public health issues because there was a desire to control factors above and beyond death, such as pain. Conversely, the desire to prevent pain has to be seen in the context of religious doctrine in the medieval and

³⁵² Chapman, A., 'Almanacs' in D. S. Kastan (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of British Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 27.

³⁵³ Stam, D. H., *International Dictionary of Library Histories, Volume 1* (London: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 2001), p.152.

³⁵⁴ Woodward, *Gerard's Herbal*; Culpeper, N., *Culpeper's Complete Herbal* (London: Arcturus Publishing Limited, 2009).

early modern periods, which frequently advised the devout to suffer for their faith and the good of their souls.³⁵⁵

The significance and impact of book ownership is a subject that has been extensively researched, but there is currently a revival of interest amongst scholars, particularly on English private libraries owned during the early modern period.³⁵⁶ Whilst much of the latest research concentrates on the seventeenth century, data about book ownership in the sixteenth century can be found in Elisabeth Leedham-Green's edition of Cambridge probate inventories and private libraries in Renaissance England.³⁵⁷ Another valuable source of information is Jayne Sears's *Library catalogues of the English renaissance*.³⁵⁸ The catalogue records not only titles of books, but also tracks how fashionable books and book ownership had become. There are some celebrated collections to be found in the catalogue dating from the early seventeenth century, when 3,000 books would have been considered a vast private collection. By the end of the century, John Moore, Bishop of Ely, had a library that was estimated to comprise of an astonishing 30,000 books.³⁵⁹ This comparison is important in understanding the nature of the Ince book, because it is from a time when there was a considerable increase in the ownership and collecting of books. Studies of libraries reveal that collections varied by type. A physician's book collection in the sixteenth century would not have comprised medical books alone, but also volumes on divinity, history, geography and literature, to set the specifically medical material within the context of human knowledge. Most of those books would be made up of continental learning and written in classical languages, constituents of the education of physicians at this time.³⁶⁰ In the seventeenth century, catalogues list many more books written in the English language. Medical practitioners or drug retailers in the provinces can also be found in probate lists as owning books. John Parker,

³⁵⁵ Kuiper, *The Church in History*, p. 223.

³⁵⁶ D. Pearson, 'The English Private Library in the Seventeenth Century', *The Library* 13(4) (2012), pp. 379-99, at p. 379.

³⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 381. Probate inventories are not necessarily helpful to researchers of early printed books, as they do not always list books' titles, often just their value or the size of collections.

³⁵⁸ Sears, J., *Library Catalogues of the English Renaissance* (California: University of California Press, 1956), p. 3.

³⁵⁹ Pearson, 'The English Private Library', p. 380.

³⁶⁰ Nutton, V. and Porter, R., (eds), *The History of Medical Education in Britain* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995), p. 6.

an apothecary from Lichfield, born at the end of the sixteenth century, had a collection of sixteen books when he died. They are described in his probate inventory as both ‘little and big’, but few other title details are given.³⁶¹ The scale of this collection probably represents a more typical ‘professional’ library than that of John Moore cited above.

The mid-sixteenth century was a period which saw a heightened market demand for popular medical books written in the vernacular, not only as a guide to medical practices but also as items that people wished to own within the wider context of learning. This provides a clear context for the possibility that the Ince book was written for the purposes of publication. The focus on medical material suggests that it should be seen primarily as a medical book, rather than a herbal, or a general household book, while comparison with other books of the period shows that the inclusion of material that would not normally be considered part of medicine from a modern perspective was not in itself a barrier to its primary function. The inclusion of ‘magical’ material can be seen to be part of a vernacular English medical tradition that dated back over 500 years by the time that the Ince book was written, although much of the Ince book is also rooted in classical approaches to medicine. Within the main branches of medicine, which were formally recognised at the time it was written, both the subject matter and the level of learning displayed by the author(s) suggest that it was probably the work of a physician rather than a surgeon or apothecary, although an apothecary also remains a possibility.

As discussed above, much of early modern medicine remained rooted in the humoral principles of Hippocrates and Galen.³⁶² However, other cultures, such as the Arab-Islamic world, also played a major role in European medical schools.³⁶³ As a result, medicine had evolved to some extent during the 1,800 years between Hippocrates and the writing of the Ince book, but many classical principles remained widespread, if not unchallenged. Many of the new

³⁶¹ Pearson, ‘The English Private Library’), p. 383.

³⁶² See above, pp. 87-9.

³⁶³ Wear, A., ‘English Medical Writers and their interest in Classical Arabic Medicine in the Seventeenth Century’, in G. A. Russell (ed.), *The ‘Arabick’ Interest of the Natural Philosophers in Seventeenth-Century England* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 266-77, at p. 266.

ideas were simply additions or extensions to existing ideas, such as astrological medicine, numerology, urinology and magic, all jostling for favour in the medical communities and taught in medical schools as part of the curriculum.³⁶⁴ Fashions for various approaches waxed and waned.³⁶⁵ The professional medical practitioner was very cautious to avoid incorporating any element into his practice that might be considered akin to quackery.³⁶⁶ Good reputations were imperative, not least of all because of the high fees such repute could command.³⁶⁷ Among the most important challenges to the classical school was the work of the German-Swiss scholar and physician Paracelsus (1493-1541), whose full name was Philippus Aureolus Theophrastus Bombastus Von Hohenheim, who was prepared to court controversy by challenging previously held ideas about medicine, and who invited the medical profession to revolutionise its way of thinking. Paracelsus considered that disease could be localised within the body, and rejected Galenic principles of the humours, in which imbalance in the humours upset the balance of the entire body, although symptoms might be localised. He replaced this concept with the idea that the body's functions were dominated by harmony between specific parts of anatomy and related minerals and chemicals.³⁶⁸ He also promoted the use of poisons in medicine claiming that evil could drive out evil and that small amounts of poison could therefore assist the healing process. For this reason he is thought of as the father of toxicology.³⁶⁹ As a result of his unique philosophy, born of chemical and mineral based therapeutics (particularly employing salt, sulphur, mercury and water), Paracelsus brought about great changes in medicine. This throwing down the gauntlet by Paracelsus caused a great deal of animosity amongst some sectors and

³⁶⁴ Garber, J. J., *Harmony in Healing: The Theoretical Basis of Ancient and Medieval Medicine* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2008), p. 81

³⁶⁵ Wear, *Knowledge & Practice*, p. 355.

³⁶⁶ Copeman, *Doctors and Disease*, p. 57.

³⁶⁷ Wear, *Knowledge & Practice*, p. 22.

³⁶⁸ Jacobi, J (ed) and Guterman N., *Paracelsus: Selected Writings* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1979), p. xxxix. For earlier discussion of Paracelsus in this thesis, see p. 00.

³⁶⁹ Weeks, A., *Paracelsus: Speculative Theory and the Crisis of the Early Reformation* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1997), p. 28.

admiration from others.³⁷⁰ The split between those supporting Galen and Paracelsus extended beyond the medical profession and could be detected across society.³⁷¹

The main author of the Ince book was almost certainly university trained, but it is not possible to determine a medical philosophy specific to the medical curriculum of a particular university. Claims have been made that medicine was likely to have been taught at the University of Cambridge well before 1540, while similar training commenced at Oxford by the fourteenth century.³⁷² The Ince book includes references to classical literature, including some Latin, both Arabic and Roman numerals, rubricated titles, disease or condition group titles columned in the margin, and a style of handwriting known as ‘secretary hand’. Some of these skills were not found exclusively amongst university graduates, as reading and writing and some classical works and references were taught at grammar schools in the sixteenth century.³⁷³ Collectively, however, the range of education the author displays strongly suggests a university education. As there is no reference to an *alma mater*, other place names, or even a dedication to respected instructor, it is not possible to be more specific about the author’s education or institutional affiliation.

The Ince book contains both Roman and so-called Arabic numerals, the latter of which are broadly the numerals used today. Despite the long history of their use, Roman numerals were cumbersome, especially for large figures, with the added problem that the numerals also doubled as letters. Arabic numerals (actually ultimately derived from India or beyond) were simpler and less ambiguous. A twelfth-century English translator and alchemist, Robert of Chester included Arabic numerals in a Latin translation, and thereafter Arabic numerals gradually became a standard part of Western measurement culture.³⁷⁴ Despite this, Roman numerals continued to be widely used, and both are found in late medieval and early modern documents, including other

³⁷⁰ Wear, *Knowledge & Practice*, p. 39.

³⁷¹ Shakspeare, W., *All's Well that Ends Well* (1603-4), act II, scene iii, p. 1 – 22.

³⁷² Getz, F., *Medicine in the English Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), p. 67.

³⁷³ Curtis, M. H., ‘Education and apprenticeship’ in C. M. S. Alexander (ed.), *The Cambridge Shakespeare Library: Shakespeare’s Times, Texts and Stages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 194.

³⁷⁴ www-history.mcs.st-and.ac.uk/HistTopics/Arabic_numerals.html. Accessed 26 February 2014.

text books.³⁷⁵ It is therefore unsurprising that either should be found in the Ince book, but the presence of both together, including both systems duplicated in the internal numbering of the early recipes is more unusual, and may indicate that that the compiler was more comfortable with one system of numerals than the other. However, it does indicate that this person had enough learning to be familiar with both systems.

The text demonstrates familiarity with the humoral principles, but does not directly explain these or comment on them. It is possible that the work was intended as a tutelage piece for a student, possibly the author's own student assistant. If this were the case, it would have been known that such a person was acquainted with the systems of Galen and Hippocrates. However, it seems more likely that this was not as a work intended for the use of the author and a student alone, but rather as a draft for a medical publication. It is didactic by nature, with many sub-headings enabling the reader to dip in and out of sections. It assumes a level of medical knowledge on the part of the reader, including anatomy, and does not take the trouble to explain many basic terms. There are reference to patients (with various spellings), implying that it is for the use of doctors, and the vast majority of the contents relates directly to medical treatments. Although a few of the individual entries are not medical recipes (see p. 18), this is consistent with published medical texts of the time.³⁷⁶ According to Natasha Glaisyer, didactic literature published throughout the early modern period regularly offered readers shortcuts to help them assimilate complex information in the form of charts and tables.³⁷⁷ There are no diagrams or illustrations of any form in the Ince book, although they are found frequently in earlier medieval manuscripts.³⁷⁸ Illustrations also often appear in later printed medical texts, both domestic and

³⁷⁵ Crosby, A. W., *The Measure of Reality: Quantification and Western Society, 1250-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 112.

³⁷⁶ Fissell, M., 'Popular Medical Writing', pp. 417-30.

³⁷⁷ Glaisyer, N., 'Popular Didactic Literature' in J. Raymond (ed.), *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 510-19.

³⁷⁸ Walkington, T., *The Optick Glasse of Humours* (London: Martin Clerke, Print and Bookseller, 1607). www.folger.edu/imgdtl.cfm?imageid=180&cid=944. Accessed 5 March 2014.

professional. If the book was being prepared for print, illustrations or diagrams might have been considered for inclusion later.

The professional practice recipes are amongst the most intriguing in the Ince Book, as their very presence gives a strong indication that the author is a trained physician. The use of medical terminology is not necessarily as compelling evidence as the professional standard references that appear in the text. Recipe 69 states that despite perilous days for bleeding, a particular diet to balance humours is recommended to support the patient through the process of bloodletting. There are recommendations in the same recipe that directly relate to the diet of a patient during bleeding in certain months (as might be found in an almanac calendar), such as particular types of wine or meats and ‘worts’ (cabbage). The iron content of green leafy vegetables would have been helpful for those suffering with anaemia, but was known only in relatively modern times.³⁷⁹ The month of November in the recipe is of particular interest, as, in this month, patients would be *garyd*, which means ‘lanced’ and then subjected to *ventosyd*, or cupping.³⁸⁰ This recipe provides yet more evidence that the author was Galenic in his approach. Recipes 71 and 72 discuss methods for recognising a patient’s predominant humour, and recipe 18 gives a regimen to ensure good health consisting of a modest diet, good behaviour, rest and prayer. The text of all three recipes lack detail, which suggests the theories were so much part of his medical practice that he hardly needs to be reminded of such detail. The same would apply to the prospective readers of the book if the intention was to sell the published work to qualified doctors. Therefore, the only reason for their appearance in the pages of his book was for the benefit of others to be reminded of the basic principles by way of an aide memoir. There are 24 recipes in this section, including the regimen.

³⁷⁹ Woodward, *Gerard's Herbal*, pp. 66-67.

³⁸⁰ Green, *Trotula*, p.101. Cupping is the process by which a small glass bowl about the size of a golf ball has a flame put in it to remove the air and create a vacuum, whereupon the glass ‘cup’ is placed on the patient’s skin at a recommended point and the vacuum causes the flesh to rise up into the cup and the cup to adhere to the body.

The general narrative also contains methods of recognition through presented signs, in order that the medical practitioner might determine advancing death. This is professionally important, for if the physician states the patient is in a critical condition and the disease incurable then this absolves the physician of any suggestion of incompetence or blame, an idea advanced by historian Peregrine Horden.³⁸¹ Westerhof explains how the Hippocratic tradition of prognosis was used to form an authoritative list of death-bearing signs. This list enabled those present in sick-rooms to identify with the prognosis given, warning them of the patient's inevitable fate.³⁸² In view of how vital the good reputation of any physician across history is, this seems a logical theory and it is arguable that recipe 257 titled 'To knowe yff a seke man shall leve or dy', affords the practitioner the opportunity to slip away from a dying patient's room, free of negative criticism in the face of the unavoidable. It may also offer the family of the patient an opportunity to prepare themselves for this loss and perhaps call upon the services of a priest in those last hours. There were concerns in society that the dead might be hostile to the living and therefore proper preparation for the soul of the dying individual was of vital importance to ensure they had a peaceful death and smooth passage to judgement.³⁸³

There is very little surgery advised in the book and the only section that might be vaguely considered in a modern sense as a surgical procedure, other than the removal of thorns is bloodletting. The disciplines of surgery and bone-setting are the work of a completely different branch or branches of training and there was a general distinction between the work of surgeons and physicians, both in terms of learning and also in the areas of medicine that they practiced.³⁸⁴ Despite the development of formal institutions for both physicians and surgeons, distinctions remained blurred to some extent and the Royal College of Physicians was granted four corpses a

³⁸¹ Horden, P., 'What's Wrong with Early Medieval Medicine?' *Social History of Medicine*, 24. (1) (2011), pp. 5-25, at p. 15.

³⁸² Westerhof, D., *Death and the Noble Body In Medieval England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 2008), pp. 26-27.

³⁸³ 'Gordon, B. and Marshall, P. 'Introduction: placing the dead in late medieval and early modern Europe', in B. Gordon and P. Marshall (eds), *The Place of the Dead* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 1-16, at p. 7.

³⁸⁴ Pelling and Webster, 'Medical Practitioners', p. 165.

year on which to perform dissections.³⁸⁵ This implies that physicians had the surgical skills to carry out dissection, even if this was not a usual part of their duties.

There is clear evidence of trained professional standards in terms of the approach to weights and measures in the Ince book, which are unusually precise by the standards of medical publications of the period, and are presented in the form of a series of charts. There is also a structured approach to the administration of drugs or therapies. Recipes often state that the medicine should be taken at certain times of day, such as on rising in the morning and the delightful word 'bedward'.³⁸⁶ Recipes 64, 182 and 229 provide evidence of how important precise measurements, including timings, are to the author, ensuring that the prescription will work in the most efficacious manner. Recipe 229 details an impressive twelve separate measurements and is amongst the most complex of all the recipes. This is quite pedantic by sixteenth-century standards, as recipes for medicines found in handbooks of the day rarely showed any form of accurate measurement. An example can be found in *The English Housewife*, where Markham advises the reader for a swelling in the mouth to 'take the juice of wormwood, camomile, and skirret, and mix them with honey, and bathe the swelling therewith, and it will cure it'.³⁸⁷ Whilst all the ingredients are clearly identified by Markham, he does not indicate a single specific measurement which presumably meant the treatment varied from one housewife to the next.³⁸⁸

In contrast, the charts in the Ince book bear out the idea that ingredients for pharmacology were carefully weighed, not only because of financial restraints, but because accuracy mattered. Recipe 89 demonstrates this in greater detail as it describes how to prepare a plaster for ulcerated legs caused by 'mellancoly ewmers'. The preparation is described in precise detail with the weights of oil of elder, wax and white lead being ground in a mortar and boiled until black as pitch. The recipe states that the mixture should then be laid on a smoothed cloth

³⁸⁵ Porter, R., *Bodies Politic*, p. 49.

³⁸⁶ A word not used now, but just as in 'homeward'.

³⁸⁷ Best, *The English Housewife*, p. 18.

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

on the ulcerated leg for twelve days. The cloth should be changed a fortnight later, the recipe states, making sure the cloth is rubbed smooth and the process repeated as needed. The attention to detail in recipe 89 is noteworthy, and in my opinion suggests a professional practitioner.

The recipes also provide some sense of the environment in which the author practiced, or with which he was familiar. Thorn injuries are one such example as there are twelve recipe variations dealing with this condition. Although it is entirely reasonable to suggest that thorn injuries are likely to be suffered in a domestic urban environment (for those wealthy enough to have an urban home with a garden), or sustained on a hunting trip, the sheer volume of described injuries and subsequent infections suggest that this is a medical practitioner linked to a rural area. Conditions found almost exclusively in those engaged in animal husbandry can also be found in recipe 131, which offers ways to deal with a sheep tick in the ear. Only a farm worker grasping a sheep between the knees and pulling wool backwards towards the worker's face for the purposes of shearing or veterinary care could reasonably end up with a parasite in their ear. In addition, there are references to other geographical regions or districts in which the author is likely to have practiced, such as marshy areas. Malaria, which is mentioned, was prevalent in estuaries and marshy areas commonly found in England prior to vast areas being drained off for building and agriculture, particularly in the eighteenth century.³⁸⁹ As a large majority of the early modern public lived and worked away from the towns and cities, it seems highly likely that a sensible physician, who did not necessarily expect to make his way at court, could be sure of a good living in the countryside, or near a thriving market town.

There are a group of recipes that can be described as a glossary of professional medical terms. These give definitions of various forms of medicines such as plasters, confections, mixtures and 'those that can be licked with the tongue.' Recipe 65 is one such item which gives a whole list of terms presumably for reference purposes and unlikely to be for the non-

³⁸⁹ Toovey, S. And Jamieson, A., *Malaria: A Traveller's Guide* (London: Southern Book Publishers, 1994), p. 18.

professional. Recipe 99 also comes under the general medicine banner as it offers a way of restoring nature that is decayed and although not specific, does seem likely to be a salve for infected flesh.

What else can be determined about the author? What is clear is how strikingly pragmatic the work is. Similar works of the time frequently stray into anecdotes or engage in flowery references that are not strictly relevant to the medical issue they are writing about.³⁹⁰ This book is not indulgent, but practical and absolutely to the point. It shows no sympathy for a sufferer but remains objective with an almost scientific approach. This man is able to pick and choose from the medical training he gained at university and is confident enough to dismiss whole schools of thought such as medical astrology, perhaps as a result of trial and error. The language used within the text says much about the writer as the word ‘proved’ or in Latin *Probatum* and even ‘Ptm’ in a form of shorthand, appears frequently throughout the book. Although this does not mean that the author proved this prescription cured or eased a particular ailment personally, the book does state if someone else proved a cure, and a number of different authorities are cited. For example, recipe 97 ends with the words ‘Proved by a woman from Branford’. There is a hint at the author’s personality at the end of recipe 88 which is very significant. He writes *doctor laughm mt cetos valde neq* which translates from a mixture of a kind of dog-Latin and the phonetically written English language of the day as ‘Dr Langton thinks this is rubbish.’ The question about this comment is whether the author is observing that Dr Langton thinks the recipe is not a prescription he has much faith in, or is the author Dr Langton making a wry comment about a recipe he feels is frankly useless?

As discussed above, this may well be a reference to Dr Christopher Langton, active in the late 1540s and early 1550s, or less plausibly his son Thomas, also a physician.³⁹¹ However, the fact is that the name Langton appears only once in the work and then in the third person. This is at

³⁹⁰ Nichols, R. S., *English Pleasure Gardens* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1902), p. 94.

³⁹¹ See pp. 8-9.

best circumstantial evidence and, given the author's references to other people, including medical authorities such as Gilbert Kymer, it seems more likely that the author is simply referring here to the opinion of a doctor he has met, or simply read. It is also notable that Langton's published works, while rooted in the same humoral tradition as the Ince book, refer much more explicitly to a number of classical authors, and more clearly demonstrate formal learning as well as more structured and specialised knowledge.³⁹² The style of the Ince book thus does not seem to be consistent with Langton's known work.

Observation for the purposes of prognosis was not the only clinical technique taught in medical schools at this time. In the middle ages, zodiac medicine was regularly taught to students. This included interpreting the cycle of the moon and calculating outcome based on the day the patient became ill against the lunar position and whether the moon was waxing or waning.³⁹³ Zodiac medicine in the humoral tradition worked on the theory that the stars, as heavenly bodies, were part of God's creation and made up of elements, and that each star was possessed of energies which impacted on the natural world (see Appendix 9).³⁹⁴ It was believed that people born under a particular sign would have weaknesses in the body dominated by their own astrological leanings, which were determined by their birth dates.³⁹⁵ According to some medical practitioners, the proper usage of a chosen remedy could only be given to a patient when the astrological nature specific to the sufferer was understood. For example, Saturn was thought to be dry and cold and encouraged the increase of black bile, melancholy and associated chronic diseases.³⁹⁶ Astrological explanations for disease were particularly popular in humanist circles, although in 1496, about fifty years prior to the production of the Ince book, the leading humanist scholar of the age, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, argued against the stars dominating the life of

³⁹² Moore, N., rev. Bakewell, S., 'Langton, Christopher (1521–1578)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16039. Accessed 12 March 2014.

³⁹³ Cooper, G. M. (ed.), *Galen, De Diebus Decretoriis, from Greek into Arabic* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2011), p. 67.

³⁹⁴ Rashdall, H., *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages: Volume 1, Salerno, Bologna, Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1895), p. 244.

³⁹⁵ Wallis, F. (ed.), *Medieval Medicine: A Reader* (Toronto, Ontario: Toronto University Press Incorporated, 2010), p. 322.

³⁹⁶ Arrizabalaga, Henderson and French, *The Great Pox*, p. 110.

people and that the free human spirit of all men owed its range to supreme providence.³⁹⁷ Kevin Brown, in his work *The Pox*, states that, in response to Pico della Mirandola's ideas, many doctors downplayed the role of astrology in medicine.³⁹⁸ Michael Best also comments on the use of zodiac medicine in Gervase Markham's widely published domestic handbook, *The English Housewife*. He notes there are very few astrological references in Markham's recipes and when they do appear they are 'likely to be treated with caution'.³⁹⁹ Nevertheless, early modern physicians and other medical practitioners in some cases continued to be interested in astrology and zodiac medicine, as demonstrated by the colourful life of Dr John Lamb (d. 1628), who was not only a physician, but an astrologer, convicted witch, rapist and murderer.⁴⁰⁰ Culpeper, writing over half a century after the Ince book, and more than one hundred years after Pico della Mirandola, gave instructions of how remedies and patients should be approached: 'Consider by what planet the affected part of the body is governed. You may oppose diseases of Jupiter by herbs of Mercury and the contrary'.⁴⁰¹ Zodiac medicine also continued to be a typical component of the medical regimens found in general almanacs.⁴⁰² However, Zodiac medicine as an approach is not found in the Ince book, other than in the bloodletting calendar discussed earlier in this chapter, and its absence may well reflect the author's sceptical attitude to zodiac medicine, which was growing less relevant to medical practice in the mid-sixteenth century.⁴⁰³

Magical or religious content can be found throughout the Ince book. The term 'magic' is a broad one, and the historiography of sixteenth-century magic typically draws a distinction between 'high' (learned or ceremonial) and 'low' (folk) magic. High magic is generally defined as structured magic underpinned by learning and/or philosophy. Owen Davies breaks it down even further into 'demonic' and 'natural' magic, demonic magic being primarily concerned with

³⁹⁷ Blum, P. R., (ed.), *Philosophers of the Renaissance* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1999), p. 105.

³⁹⁸ Brown, *The Pox*, p. 13.

³⁹⁹ Best, *English Housewife*, p. xxxiii.

⁴⁰⁰ McRae, A., 'Manuscript Culture and Popular Print', in J. Raymond (ed.), *Popular Print Culture*, pp. 130-39, at p. 139.

⁴⁰¹ Brown, *The Pox*, p.13.

⁴⁰² See pp. 92-3.

⁴⁰³ Tobyn, *Culpeper's Medicine*, p. xiv.

conjunction of devils and demons in pursuit of wealth and power, and inherently heretical.

Natural magic, by contrast, was considered by many intellectuals to be almost a branch of the sciences, as it was informed by Neoplatonism. It involved interaction with a perceived hierarchy of spirits within nature itself, including angels, which were considered benign. Low magic, in turn, was primarily the product of folk tradition, largely passed on orally, and lacking the philosophical and theoretical underpinning of high magic.⁴⁰⁴ Recipe 221, which is written in the main hand found throughout the book, is the only recipe in the work that invites the practitioner to record the words of an incantation in writing as part of the healing process. A magical word appears in the body of the incantation, 'ananyzapta', which is shown in the book as 'ananyzapte'.⁴⁰⁵ This is used in other works as a spoken charm against epilepsy.⁴⁰⁶ Epilepsy was treated very carefully because it was thought that sufferers were possessed in some way by an evil force, and that they were attempting to cast out evil spirits with a babbling of words as they fitted, often writhing in rigor.⁴⁰⁷ Hippocrates describes epilepsy as the sacred disease in his work on *Airs, Waters, Places*.⁴⁰⁸ This weighty narrative cure combines magic and prayers with sections of the text being punctuated with physical signs of the cross by the person reciting the incantation. The Christian belief was that the possession was the work of demons or evil spirits that could be cast out through the use of prayer and intercession.⁴⁰⁹ This link with demonic forces and the use of a charm known to be transmitted elsewhere in written sources suggests high magic, and this appears at first sight to be reinforced by the use of Latin, in contrast to most of the recipes in the book. Latin, together with Greek and Arabic, was commonly used in manuscripts relating to high

⁴⁰⁴ Davies, 'Popular Magic', pp. ix-x.

⁴⁰⁵ Williamson E., 'The Cult of the Three Kings of Cologne in Scotland', in S. Boardman, J. R. Davies., and E. Williamson, (eds), *Saints' Cults in the Celtic World* (Woodbridge, Surrey: The Boydell Press, 2009), pp. 160-79, at p.167.

⁴⁰⁶ Temkin, *The Falling Sickness*, p.12.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid., p.100.

⁴⁰⁸ Hippocrates, 'On Airs, Waters, and Places, Part 3'. classics.mit.edu/Hippocrates/airwatpl.3.3.html. Accessed 7 November 2013.

⁴⁰⁹ In the authorised version of the Bible, *St. Matthew*. Chapter 17 vv 14-18, there is clear reference to Jesus being asked to cure a child suffering with epilepsy.

or ceremonial magic.⁴¹⁰ However, the use of garbled medieval Latin with religious content was also a common feature of low magic, derived from memories of Catholic ritual.⁴¹¹ Furthermore, if ‘ananyzapta’ was a well-known charm, then it could have been transmitted orally to the compiler of the Ince book rather than borrowed from another text.

The use of what would now be considered the occult or magic appears several times in the book both in Latin and English, albeit in some cases it is written in another hand. The use of medical spells is not nearly as extraordinary as might first be thought. It is true that the Protestant Reformation challenged many of the traditions of the Catholic Church by banning pilgrimages and destroying relics and holy images. This was part of an attempt to separate the people of England spiritually from Rome, but it was still very early days for much change to popular belief in the mid-sixteenth century.⁴¹² Within the Catholic Church, the use of magic had long been condemned by many authors, even in the context of medicine. Some of the most revered figures in the Christian church, including St Augustine, had very clear views about the use of magic and incantations to assist with healing. St Augustine was critical of ‘incantation’ and ‘characters’.⁴¹³ Some authors of pastoral manuals condemned recipes that contained spoken or written charms as ‘sortilegium’.⁴¹⁴ Some of these words circulated in England, and Robert of Flamborough, the author of one of the first pastoral manuals in the first two decades of the thirteenth century, wrote:

Faithful priests should impress on their people so that they know that magic arts and incantations cannot bring about any remedy for any human illnesses, nor can they heal in any way animals which are weakening or lame or even dying; but rather these things are

⁴¹⁰ Davies, *Popular Magic*, p. 119,

⁴¹¹ Wilby, E., *Cunning Folke and Familiar Spirits. Shamanistic Visionary Traditions in Early Modern British Witchcraft and Magic* (Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2005), p. 34

⁴¹² Haigh, C., ‘Introduction’, in C. Haigh (ed.), *The English Reformation Revised* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 1-18, p. 8.

⁴¹³ Green, R. P. H. (ed.), *Saint Augustine on Christian Teaching* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 56

⁴¹⁴ Rider, ‘Medical Magic’, p. 93.

snarcs and traps of the ancient enemy, with which he perfidiously labours to entice the human race.⁴¹⁵

It was claimed in *The Priest Eye*, a pastoral paper written in the 1320s by Thomas of Chobham, that certain rituals or incantations were prohibited when collecting medical herbs, with the exception of the Creed or the Lord's Prayer. These instructions, founded in much earlier penitentials did allow parchment inscribed with the Creed or Paternoster, to be laid on the body of a sick person.⁴¹⁶ The principle of a charm containing Christian words was thus considered acceptable, and such spells were not just administered to the sick verbally. Caution nevertheless had to be applied, as found in the writings of a Dominican Friar and theologian, William of Rennes, who wrote about prayer and medicine. He offers important insight into the power of the tetragrammaton:

But those brevia in which certain characters and unfamiliar names are written because they are the unutterable names of God, and in which it is said that whoever carries this breve on themselves will not be endangered in this or that, or that this or that good thing will happen to them, should without doubt be condemned and not be carried, and the people who write them, or teach that they should be carried, or carry them, or give them, or sell them, sin unless they are so simple that ignorance excuses them.⁴¹⁷

Against this background of unclear boundaries between religion and magic, and how either might be applied to medicine, it is less surprising than it might otherwise be to modern eyes that the Ince book contains a number of recipes involving magical charms (which generally include specific spoken charms or invocations in addition to any physical ingredients) or religious content. These are amongst the most fascinating aspects of the whole work. The inclusion of magic in the book is particularly important at a time in history when the use of the occult in

⁴¹⁵ Robert of Flamborough, *Liber poenitentialis*.

⁴¹⁶ C. Rider, 'Medical Magic', p. 92.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid., p.97.

medicine was being discredited.⁴¹⁸ Nevertheless, such practices could still be found amongst the writings of university-trained physicians and there is no question that the use of high or ceremonial magic could be part of an orthodox practitioner's repertoire.⁴¹⁹ This idea was firmly rooted in the original priest doctors, some of whom, such as Boorde (see p. 59) were still practicing medicine at the time this book was compiled. In twelfth-century Salerno, standard medical practice was frequently combined with religion and elements of magic.⁴²⁰ Keith Thomas argues that university-based magicians were influenced by the teachings and structure of renaissance thinking, while the uneducated wizards and witches tucked away in small communities continued to practice the old systems, essentially the distinction between high and low magic mentioned above.⁴²¹ Any examination of the subject raises questions about what defines magic and where the boundaries between medicine, religion and magic lay.⁴²² This is a large subject in itself, and goes beyond the scope of the current thesis. In medieval medicine, all three closely interacted, and although it has often been argued that this interaction was largely confined to folk medicine, Lea T. Olsen has argued that prayers and charms can be found in the works of learned and professional medical practitioners in the later Middle Ages.⁴²³ A firmer distinction was being drawn by the early modern period, although physicians could be called upon to diagnose cases of suggested demonic possession, and Keith Thomas cites two such physicians who diagnosed possession in a girl in Hertfordshire, as well as in an entire convent of possessed nuns in France in the 1660s.⁴²⁴ Physicians were also on occasion called upon to be expert witnesses in witchcraft trials.

⁴¹⁸ Wear, *Knowledge & Practice*, p. 308.

⁴¹⁹ Porter, *Quacks: Fakers & Charlatans in Medicine*, p.35.

⁴²⁰ Green, *Trotula*, p.13.

⁴²¹ Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, p. 271.

⁴²² Ankerloo, B., Monter, W. and Clark, S., *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: The Period of the Witch Trials* (London: The Athlone Press, 2002), p. 106.

⁴²³ Olsen, L.T., 'Charms and Prayers in Medieval Medical Theory and Practice', *Social History of Medicine* 16: 3 (2003), pp. 343-66.

⁴²⁴ Thomas, K., *Decline of Magic*, (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971), p. 572.

Some individuals who are described as physicians continued to combine medicine, astrology and magic in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, such as Simon Forman, a well-known medical astrologer, with an extensive client list including a number of influential people. However, although Forman had some education, he was a self-styled physician without proper formal qualifications, and was not recognised as a physician by the Royal College of Physicians, who regarded him as an imposter and quack, and on one occasion he was even imprisoned for practising without a licence.⁴²⁵ Forman's notoriety provides an important reminder that not all those who called themselves physicians, or were so described by others, met the professional standards of licensed physicians as described elsewhere in this thesis, but equally demonstrates that such standards were applied, and that his mixture of medicine and magic failed to meet those standards, and is not representative of physicians generally.

The spells, or perhaps more aptly put, narrative charms, also involve some association with other specially prepared objects or plants that have unique properties attached to them. The occult is perhaps more apparent in recipe 196: 'Take a pure black cat & flee her...' It is interesting that the recipe requests this as a specific ingredient because pure black cats and pure white cats feature in evidence at witchcraft trials and continued to do so into the seventeenth century.⁴²⁶ Therefore, we can assume that a pure black or pure white cat was believed to have magical properties. The gender of the animal is also mentioned more than once in the recipe (female), which is likely to be a specific ingredient, as through a vast majority of the Ince work the male gender is used when referring to patients.

Recipe 35 has no direct bearing on healing, as although it contains what appears to be a herbal remedy, it is actually concerned with opening locks. The use of violets is particularly

⁴²⁵ Harris, T., 'Popular, Plebeian, Culture: Historical definitions', in J. Raymond (ed) *Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, Vol 1. *Cheap print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011, pp. 50-58, at p. 57; Cook, J., *Dr Simon Forman, a most notorious physician* (London: Chatto and Windus, 2001), p. 24.

⁴²⁶ Sax, B., *The Mythical Zoo: An A-Z of Animals in World Myth, Legend and Literature* (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, Inc, 2001), p. 60.

interesting, as they are known to have a laxative effect.⁴²⁷ Constipation remedies are often referred to as ‘opening medicine’ and so in this case the violet can be described as an ‘opening herb’. This was widely known in terms of medicine and repeated in item 173 of Markham’s *The English Housewife*, where violet leaves are used in a poultice on the breasts of women suffering with presented symptoms of mastitis. Remarkably the Ince recipe suggests that violet leaves and/or roots were believed to open more than bowels and thus that the virtue of the plant could be transferred directly over from human flesh to inanimate objects, such as a door lock. It is well known that there existed a belief that some plants had qualities could affect all manner of things in the created universe, and Jerry Stannard confirms that society believed that certain plants, as God’s creations, had supernatural properties.⁴²⁸ This was known in many ranks of society as varieties of plants such as betony, calendula and verbenas were commonly planted in domestic gardens to ward off evil.⁴²⁹ Hazelnuts could reputedly determine the next day’s weather and Jove’s beard with some logic of name attachment, was grown on roofs to protect against lightning strikes.⁴³⁰ Thus, while the application of violet to opening locks may be linked to underlying concepts of the virtues of plants as found in humoral medicine, the extension of those virtues in this context to inanimate objects such as locks seems to be more closely linked with quackery and superstition than to the more scientific approach of much of the work.

This does not in itself preclude learning on the part of the compiler, although this recipe forms part of a small group of charms apparently in a different hand from most of the work.⁴³¹ There were several high-profile, self-declared workers of magic in the sixteenth century. In England, the most celebrated of all in the sixteenth century was Dr John Dee (1527-1608/9), who was highly regarded for his scholarship and learning while also regarded as somewhat

⁴²⁷ Pereira, J., *The Elements of Materia Medica and Therapeutics*, Part 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1855), p. 932.

⁴²⁸ Stannard, J., ‘Alimentary and Medicinal Uses’, in E. B. MacDougall (ed.), *Medieval Gardens* (Washington, D.C: Meriden-Stinehour Press, 1986), pp. 69-92, at p. 90.

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

⁴³¹ See Appendix 3.

notorious for his involvement in astrology and magic.⁴³² Dee advised Elizabeth I on many pivotal dates of her reign, including the most auspicious day for her coronation.⁴³³ The fact that the highest person in the land called upon the services of a magician itself indicates that magic and the occult were part of the fabric of English society, although the notoriety of figures such as Dr Dee suggests that it was not considered usual to be a practitioner of magic. Furthermore, practitioners of magic at this level of society were generally engaged in high magic. However, belief in magic, ghosts and fairies was widespread at all levels of society, and folk beliefs and rituals continued to linger on after the reformation, reflecting a much wider use of low magic.⁴³⁴

Recipe 221 includes a tetragrammaton made up of the Hebrew letters 'YHWH' or 'JVJH', meaning Yahweh or Jehovah. This was understood as 'the ineffable name of God', forbidden to be uttered or written down by those of the Jewish faith.⁴³⁵ It is of particular significance because it calls upon God directly, not the intervention of an angel or saint. The attempt to communicate with God himself may well suggest the work of a Protestant physician, keen to avoid Papist activities which included intercession, but this argument is weak as pagan entities are also invoked in some spells within the work. This recipe could have been written by another person, as were other spells found in the work, which would mean the physician has only a vicarious relationship to its appearance. Whilst the apparently medical occult recipes are relevant to the main content of the Ince book, there are questions that surround the appearance of some of the magical content, which have nothing to do with healing but are purely for the purposes of protecting property and summoning fairies. The latter can be found in recipe 36, which is part of the same anomalous section which contains the recipe (no. 35) for opening locks. As with the previous recipe, there is a pseudo-medical aspect to this recipe, in that the purpose of summoning the fairy is that she can

⁴³² Sherman, W. H., *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Massachusetts: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1995), p. xi

⁴³³ www.westminster-abbey.org/History. Accessed 5 November 2013.

⁴³⁴ Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, p. 725.

⁴³⁵ Metzger, B. M., *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: An Introduction to Greek Palaeography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), pp. 33-35.

then provide a ‘herb’ or ‘erbe’, the qualities of which are that possession of the herb means that the possessor will ‘lake [lack] nothing’. As with the previous recipe, this smacks of quackery rather than meaningful medicine, and the whole section falls within the sphere of low or popular magic. Nevertheless, the recipe provides interesting insights into the attitude towards fairies at this time. There is no question that the appearance of the fairy would be considered a potentially dangerous event as there are so many protections surrounding the spell, such as the unbroken circle of consecrated rushes.⁴³⁶ Consecrated rushes would almost certainly come from the floor of a church where asperges would have taken place with holy water.⁴³⁷ The circle made from the rushes was likely to have been drawn to provide a safe place within which a spirit or demon might be conjured. There are many references to be found about circles of protection, often in salt, which is significant as it has the property of cleansing and, in folklore, salt is a mineral that is abhorrent to evil. The use of a circle for magical protection filtered into many elements of life in the late medieval period; they were often traced around plants with a knife or sword to protect them from outside forces and, in the Anglo Saxon period, there is evidence that healing circles were drawn around patients by doctors.⁴³⁸ Remarkably, there is no provision within the spell to dismiss the fairy once her visitation concludes. The protective herb is not named, but a ‘shogernut’ is mentioned, which, according to the incantation, should be cried out. This is possibly a sweetmeat, or ‘sugar-nut’, as food was used to tempt fairies away from important areas in the household where they might cause damage.⁴³⁹ Magical protection against evil, in the form of witches or spirits, was the stock-in-trade of a cunning person, rather than a physician.⁴⁴⁰ This suggests that this section at least may have been authored by, or collected from, a cunning person, even if this does not necessarily apply to the whole text.

⁴³⁶ Rylie, A., *The Scorerer's Tale: Faith and Fraud in Tudor England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 97.

⁴³⁷ Asperges is the practice of holy (blessed) water being sprinkled as a blessing on people or property in a church service or sometimes in a procession. The process is usually carried out by the celebrant.

⁴³⁸ Wilson, S., *The Magical Universe: Everyday Ritual and Magic in Pre-Modern Europe* (London: Hambledon and London, 2000), p. 443.

⁴³⁹ Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, p. 727.

⁴⁴⁰ Davies, *Popular Magic*, p. 147; Macfarlane, A., *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England: a regional and comparative study* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970), p. 124.

According to the principles of humoral medicine, seasons, weather and the environment were believed to have attributes that could affect a patient's wellbeing, and unseasonable weather was thought to bring on particular illnesses and diseases.⁴⁴¹ The diary of the late seventeenth-century, Rev. John Ward tells of the importance of 'a faire and clear day' in some medical practices.⁴⁴² This is pertinent to the Ince book as there are clear directions as to the weather conditions in which the spell found in recipe 36 should be cast; it calls for bright sunshine. The elder tree mentioned is also relevant as it is one of a group of trees thought to have possessed magical properties of one form or another.⁴⁴³

Although the book is a medical work, the spells promise more than just the restoration or protection of health. Recipes 33 and 34, which together with recipes 35 and 36 form the anomalous section of magical charms, both address ways of ensuring that property is protected through the use of ritual. They involved the invocation of Christian saints to assist, as well as employing the most important prayers in the Christian faith, such as the *Pater Noster*, or *Our Father*, and the *Ave*, known in modern parlance as *The Hail Mary*, both of which form part of the binding of the incantation. Recipe 33 also mentions the use of wands in the form of circles of branches, hung in the four corners of a room to cover the north, south, east and west. Four nails are mentioned, which may well represent the nails used in the Christian faith to secure the body of Jesus to the cross in the Crucifixion. According to the Catholic Encyclopaedia, 'The question has been long debated whether Christ was crucified with three or four nails. The treatment of the Crucifixion in art during the earlier middle ages supports the tradition of four nails.'⁴⁴⁴ The suggestion seems to be that if nails secured the son of God, they were culturally symbolic and could potentially be used within a spell to secure property.

⁴⁴¹ Wear, *Knowledge & Practice*, p. 193.

⁴⁴² Severn, C. (ed.), *Diary of the Rev. John Ward, A. M., Vicar of Stratford-upon-Avon...1648 – 1679*, in (London: Henry Colburn Publisher, 1839), p. 253.

⁴⁴³ Hatfield, G., *Encyclopaedia of Folk Medicine: Old World and New World Traditions* (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, 2004), p. 136.

⁴⁴⁴ www.newadvent.org - The Catholic Encyclopaedia online. Accessed 18 November 2013.

Recipe 33 appears to be a shortened version of recipe 34. It is interesting to note that both the house and garden in the mid-sixteenth century were deemed to require protection from thieves, indicating the value placed not only on food crops, but also on herbs grown domestically for the purposes of cosmetics and aromatics, flavouring for food and, of particular interest to a medical practitioner, medicines. Recipe 34, entitled 'For a wall to keep animals out and keep the things inside safe', dwells further on the security of property with its associated spell offering protection to farm animals. It is written almost entirely in Latin, but I have included a translation into English in the Appendix for ease of analysis (see Appendix 10). Interestingly, the spell seeks to bind any thieves inside the property, rendering them unable to leave, rather than stopping any unwanted visitors from entering in the first place. It is a complex mixture of magic and religion, in what could be described as an 'all hands on deck' approach to a crisis situation. The final two lines of the spell contain a mixture of Latin and English which can be found elsewhere in the work. The small crosses that appear in the text are an instruction to make the 'sign of the cross', believed in Christian faith to be an act of reverence but also an invocation of Christ's protection. Recipe 34 is striking, as it occupies two whole pages and along with the other accompanying charms is recorded in a completely different hand from the two identifiable hands that compiled the majority of the work. The handwriting style is that of an educated secretary hand, although it contains an added flourish. Tight and careful handwriting fills the page and tiny stage notes appear in the margins. The spell in recipe 34 would have taken minutes to write, not hours, as would have been the case for virtually every other page of the Ince book.

Numerology is evident throughout the recipes that may be considered spells. Numerology was a taught technique prevalent in the Middle Ages. It offered a method for understanding the special relationships between numbers and events. Sacred numbers, such as three and four are rooted in religious belief. Three is the number of the Holy Trinity – Father, Son and Holy Ghost - and four represents the four elements of hot, cold, wet and dry, and all the

mighty forces arising from those elements created by God.⁴⁴⁵ What may seem surprising about this text is the invocation of 'The Fates', by using the names Sator, Atripos and Lachesis, when Christian references appear alongside in the same narrative charm. This is less surprising than it may at first appear, as similar use of a mixture of Christian and occult symbolism and narrative in folk healing can be found in evidence as late as 1875 in many parts of Europe.

Catherine Rider states that surviving medical prayers 'which make promises' are mostly from the fifteenth century. As the Ince book dates from around 1550, it provides a later examples of a prayer used directly for the purposes of protection or health. What is particularly interesting is the inclusion of the name 'Sator', as the three fates are Clotho, Lachesis and Atropos. These daughters of Zeus and Themis in Greek mythology were thought to have fulfilled a particularly important job for mankind: they spun, drew out and cut the thread of life. It was not an inflexible fate for man it seems, as the Gods could change fates and although the fates did not interfere with mortals directly, man could call upon their conditional intervention in affairs. What is particularly interesting is that the word 'Sator' also appears in a well-known early Christian cryptogram that is thought to have possessed magical qualities, with origins stretching back to at least a Coptic papyrus of the fourth or fifth century. The word 'Sator' forms part of a square of five-letter words forming a palindrome (see Appendix 11). This word square has been linked both with magical incantations to the Devil and with the Lord's Prayer.⁴⁴⁶ This is of particular interest, as there is a mix of both magic and religion in the narrative charm in which the word 'Sator' appears in the Ince book. However, the identification of Sator as one of the Fates suggests a level of confusion, perhaps caused by the similarity between 'Atripos', as the name of the fate is rendered here, and 'Arepo', the second word in the 'Sator' palindrome. Reference to the Sator square, as well as to the Tetragrammaton, can be found in folk charms as late as the

⁴⁴⁵ Craig, M., 'Hylomorphism' in T. F. Glick, S. Livesey and F. Wallis, (eds), *Medieval Science, Technology and Medicine: An Encyclopaedia* (New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 235.

⁴⁴⁶ Fishwick, D., 'An Early Christian Cryptogram?', *Canadian Catholic Historical Association Report*, 26 (1959), pp. 29-41.

reign of George III (1760-1820), and Owen Davies notes the existence of a wider category of charms made up of lists of 'biblical, demonic and secret names, sometimes garbled, and reduced to gibberish.'⁴⁴⁷ The seven pits of hell that are referred to may also be found in Dante's *Inferno*.⁴⁴⁸ Dante was born around 1265 and it seems possible that his most famous work had filtered into parts of English society, and his description of hell with it.

The combination within this short section of recipes of hints of learning with quackery and gibberish is characteristic of low magic, and of the residual traces of Latin and medieval Catholic practice typical in the traditions passed on amongst cunning folk, and it is possible that a cunning man or woman was the source of this section. As noted on p. 55, some cunning folk were literate, and a few even had formal education, and this section is written in a different hand from the main text. However, the fact that this section appears fairly early in the book makes it reasonably certain that this was inserted while the book was owned by the main compiler, rather than an addition by a later owner.

To conclude, this chapter has attempted to place the Ince book and the beliefs of its author in the context of early-modern medicine. The content of this chapter suggests that he was a physician of Galen and there is no evidence in the Ince book of newer medical theories, such as those of Paracelsus. This is not surprising as the work is dated c.1550, and therefore it is unlikely that any of Paracelsus' influence would have been apparent, as his ideas did not make an impact on British medicine until the end of the century. The author is, however, relatively precise in his approach to certain practices, including measurement and the processes of drug production. Accuracy is clearly a key issue in his medical practice. There is insufficient evidence to determine whether the author attended a particular university or other educational establishment. Neither is there evidence that the author spent time abroad, so it would be mere speculation to suggest ideas were gathered following travel to other cultures. Zodiac medicine is only briefly mentioned

⁴⁴⁷ Davies, *Popular magic*, pp. 152-3.

⁴⁴⁸ Lansing, R., *The Dante Encyclopaedia* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge 2000), p. 191.

in a bloodletting chart, which suggests the author was confident to choose his own theories from those which remained current at the time in which he was writing.

A conscious choice between conflicting approaches both to medicine and to learning is perhaps also revealed by the compiler's inclusion of both magical and religious material, as the compiler drew on both magic and the Christian religion as part of the healing process, and this approach was also applied to non-medical purposes such as the protection of property and the punishment of criminals. However, whilst it is accepted that religion and magic were regularly employed in mid-sixteenth century medicine, the conjuring up of fairies using consecrated rushes and calling upon the pagan Fates, is considerably more unusual. Perhaps it was never the intention of the author to include in his final text (assuming the intent to publish) such spells, but to collect these as he encountered them for his own interest; this will likely remain unknown. The evidence of different handwriting in some of the magical content certainly suggests the book was passed to another author in such instances to make an addition. This does not, however, prove that the main compiler of the text himself used or intended to publish these pages. There is a possibility that this may also have been an act of caution on the part of the main author in response to the Witchcraft Act of 1542, directed "Against Conjuracion and Witchcraft and Sorcery and Enchantments". Although Edward VI repealed this statute, it represents a shift in formal discouragement of activities that could be considered magic.⁴⁴⁹ The inclusion of these items in another hand may therefore indicate that the main compiler of the text found these interesting, but wished to preserve a certain distance from the magical material. Nevertheless, the inclusion of this material must be accounted for when drawing together a final interpretation of the character and function of the text.

⁴⁴⁹ Davies, *Popular Magic*, p. 4.

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis has discussed a previously unrecorded medical manuscript of the early modern period, with 46 leaves of octavo paper bound together as a notebook, which is referred to here as John Ince's leech book, or more simply the 'Ince book'. Although this name is derived from the fact that Ince's name appears in the work five times, listing dates between his birth in 1675 and a final reference in 1731, all these references are clearly in a much later hand than the main text, and must be considered later additions.⁴⁵⁰ The physical evidence of the handwriting of the main text, together with the ink and paper, points instead to a composition date in the mid-sixteenth century, although internal differences in handwriting suggest that it may have been compiled over a period of time rather than in a single session.⁴⁵¹

This dating is supported by a series of dateable references within the text, including references to the work of Dr Gilbert Kymer, a physician, and dean of Salisbury Cathedral (1449-63), and to a recipe vouched for by 'Lord Marcus Dorset', probably to be identified with Henry Grey (1517-54), 3rd Marquess of Dorset (1530-54).⁴⁵² The *terminus post quem* provided by these dates is supported by a firmer date, found in a shipping manifest (recipe 170) written in the hand of the main compiler. The manifest includes a regnal date of the sixth year of Edward VI, which was 1553, so it is reasonable to conclude that it was in this year that the manifest was written and therefore at least that part of the main body of the manuscript can be dated.⁴⁵³ This thus provides a *terminus post quem* for the entire manuscript, but does not preclude the possibility that it was continued at a later date, especially since there is an apparent slight change in the main hand in the later part of the manuscript, which may indicate the continuation of the work by a new compiler, or a return to the work by the original author after some time had passed. Another more debateable reference in the first section of the manuscript to a Doctor Laughton or

⁴⁵⁰ See Appendix 3.

⁴⁵¹ See pp. 5-7, 12-13.

⁴⁵² See pp. 7-8.

⁴⁵³ Ince. Recipe 170. See p. 9.

Langton may well refer to Dr Christopher Langton, who published three medical texts between 1547 and 1552, but who was subsequently expelled from the Royal College of Physicians in 1558, and publicly disgraced in 1563, making him an unlikely source to reference after this date, and therefore perhaps suggesting a *terminus ante quem* of 1558 or 1563 for the main text, while again not precluding the possibility of later continuation.⁴⁵⁴

This places the compilation at the height of the English Reformation, some years after the initial reforms of Henry VIII had been introduced, and therefore after these had had time to have a range of direct and indirect impacts on society. Of these, the most relevant to the present study are the movement of medical practice away from clerics to predominantly secular practitioners regulated by professional societies established by royal warrant; the subsequent formal separation of different branches of medicine with legally recognised status under secular law; the development of medical teaching in English universities, leaving England less reliant on the Church-dominated training of continental universities; an increase in the use of the vernacular in writing in England, and (through changing regulation of publication) of the accessibility of vernacular literature to both medical practitioners and the general public; and the subsequent creation of a demand for both specialist and non-specialist works containing medical recipes.⁴⁵⁵ Despite the fact that the Ince book contains a small number of unrelated entries which appear to be incidental to the main contents, the work is primarily a compilation of medical recipes, although in a broader sense of ‘medical’ that includes some ‘magical’ and religious material. In the medieval tradition of medicine in the period which preceded the Reformation, the separation of magic, medicine and religion was not as clearly distinguished as in more recent times, and the relatively small amount of material in the work which may be considered to be magical and/or religious in content reflects a wider shift in Renaissance humanism, and thus the period in which the work was compiled. A complete separation of magic and scholarship had still not been

⁴⁵⁴ Ince. Recipe 88. See pp. 8-9.

⁴⁵⁵ See pp.78-87, 90-91.

completely effected by the end of the sixteenth century. While the various charms and invocations included in the work should perhaps be regarded as evidence of ‘quackery’ rather than orthodox medicine (although this distinction also involves an element of anachronism), most of those included in the work have some relation to medicine in its broadest sense.⁴⁵⁶

The inclusion of a small amount of such material is thus consistent with a composition date in the mid-sixteenth century, and this is further supported by the underlying approaches to medicine found within the work. Although, unlike some contemporaries, the compiler makes only little reference to classical medical authors, the work is still rooted firmly in the Galenic tradition of the humours, which formed the basis of medical knowledge throughout the Middle Ages. However, there is very little evidence of zodiac medicine, which was closely linked to the Galenic humoral tradition in the late medieval period, but which became increasingly unfashionable in the course of the sixteenth century, particularly amongst the medical elite. At the same time, the work shows no awareness of the new Paracelsian system which became more widely known in England, if not yet fully accepted, in the later sixteenth century.⁴⁵⁷

The work makes explicit reference to the compiler’s own experience, indicating that he was himself a medical practitioner.⁴⁵⁸ The conclusion that the anonymous author was male is based on wider patterns of literacy at this time, and particularly on the fact that the authors of similar works were typically male, although the possibility of female authorship cannot be completely excluded.⁴⁵⁹ The range of ailments covered by the recipes in the work fall under the heading of general medicine, with very few references to physical injury, and a distinct absence of surgical procedures and references. As such, the book seems to fall into the sphere of medicine practiced by physicians, rather than by surgeons, although the provision of remedies also fell within the sphere of apothecaries. However, it is unlikely that the writer was an apothecary as

⁴⁵⁶ See pp. 108-12.

⁴⁵⁷ See pp. 67-8, 96-7, 105, 117-8.

⁴⁵⁸ See p. 54.

⁴⁵⁹ See pp. 13-15.

there are few references to the ‘virtues’ of ingredients such as plants. There is no evidence that it is a herbal as it does not fit the standard genre of herbals which usually contained information about growing patterns and descriptions of the plants as well as their virtues.

In addition to his own experience, the compiler also cites a wide range of other authorities in ‘proving’ the efficacy of recipes, and although these appear to be primarily anecdotal rather than published works, if the reference to ‘Dr Laughm’ is correctly linked with Dr Christopher Langton, this may well be to one of his published works. Use of Roman numerals at the head of some recipes, some prefaced with ‘cap’ (‘chapter’, or here more accurately ‘recipe’) suggests reference to an existing, but un-named, work. The emphasis on ‘proving’ indicates a concern with accuracy, as does the careful and detailed writing. The professional charts of weights and measures (recipe 64), bloodletting (recipes 69 and 70) and drug terms glossary (recipe 65) again support the case for this as a serious, pragmatic medical work. On the balance of these considerations, the Ince book was almost certainly compiled by a medical professional, and likely a physician.

A few of the recipes, notably those relating to sheep-lice (recipe 131) and thorn extraction (10, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 129 and 206) point to a rural practice, but not conclusively.⁴⁶⁰ The *materia medica* do not point to a particular location or region, although some of the recipes call for expensive imports, which suggests access to overseas trade, although not necessarily proximity to a seaport. The inclusion, in the same hand as the main text, of a ship’s manifest relating to Bristol may hint at a connection with the south-west, but is again not in itself conclusive.

The *materia medica* is comparable with other published texts of the period. Although a full comparison of remedies with published texts lies beyond the scope of this thesis, a concordance of *materia medica* with three major published works is included as Appendix 6. Study of this

⁴⁶⁰ See pp. 29, 52, 102.

concordance reveals that there is nothing in the *materia medica* of the Ince book which is particularly innovative or unusual in purely medical terms, while the choice of individual ingredients can be seen in many cases to correspond to the concepts of ‘sympathetic’ medicine and the ‘doctrine of signatures’ which formed part of the Galenic humoral tradition.⁴⁶¹ The overall range of ingredients is slightly wider than in the other comparators.⁴⁶²

In some cases, there are multiple remedies for the same or similar ailments. Examination of the recipes show the alternatives had radically different implications for the cost of the remedy, based on the prices of individual ingredients. The inclusion of multiple remedies may thus have been driven by the desire to have alternative remedies to suit different pockets. Alternatively, the compiler may be responding to different perceived humoral needs. It is also conceivable that the compiler was simply trying to be as comprehensive as he could be, at least in pulling together an initially wide a range of recipes, before possibly intending to make a further selection.⁴⁶³

The function of the manuscript is unclear. There are various feasible options. It could be an aide memoir for a medical practitioner, most probably a physician, or it could be a tutelage piece within the same academic field. Neither seems likely, however, as the lack of internal structures would prevent it from being very useful as a tool for immediate reference. The more probable function, I would argue, is that it was a notebook intended for eventual publication. This hypothesis is based in part on the evidence of a demonstrable demand in the mid-sixteenth century for vernacular books, sparked by Henry VIII’s legislation restricting the sale of imported books in an attempt to control sedition.⁴⁶⁴ Among the most popular books at this time, and therefore the most profitable, were several which included medical recipes. These were found in

⁴⁶¹ See pp. 23, 29, 36, 42, 47, 88.

⁴⁶² See pp. 76-77.

⁴⁶³ See p. 63.

⁴⁶⁴ See pp. 87-90.

specialist medical works, herbals, almanacs, and also more general works of household advice.⁴⁶⁵

As noted above, the text does not have the character of a herbal. Nor, despite the inclusion of a few items not relating to medicine, does it appear to be a general household book.

The overwhelming focus on medical recipes suggests strongly that this was intended to be a medical text. The presence of the other entries (a court record (recipe 1); methods of catching fowls and rabbits (recipe 166); the ship's manifest (recipe 170); the magical charms related to protecting property (recipes 33 and 34); opening locks (recipe 35); and conjuring up a fairy (recipe 36) are mostly entirely unrelated to the main text or to each other, and can perhaps be explained by the compiler using his notebook to write down other things as they came up in the course of compilation, with the intention of editing them out later.⁴⁶⁶ The fact that the court record is the first entry in the book may indicate that the function of a notebook predated that of a medical text. Certainly the work would have required further editing to be of much use, given the fact that the subject matter is handled in a disjointed manner, suggesting that the recipes were recorded haphazardly, either as they occurred to the compiler, or as he became familiar with them from external authorities. Some editing is perhaps demonstrated by the fact that some duplicated recipes are crossed out, and the editing out of duplicate or irrelevant material may also explain the two missing leaves that one would expect in a volume of this size.

The inclusion of what appears to be some quack 'cure-all' remedies along with magical charms amongst what is otherwise a disciplined approach by the standards of the time is perhaps surprising. However, as noted, magical and religious elements were part of the armoury of a doctor's bag, even if decreasingly so. Furthermore, the elements which appear 'quackish' elements to modern eyes would not necessarily appear so at the time, since they follow established principles of humoral and sympathetic medicine. Interestingly, most of the magical

⁴⁶⁵ See pp. 65-6, 87, 90-93

⁴⁶⁶ The ship's manifest may relate indirectly to the work of the compiler, since it contained wine, which was sometimes used in the preparation of drugs (see p. 85). However, there is no reason to assume that there was any intention of sharing the information in the manifest with others, unlike the medical recipes.

texts were clearly written by another hand as if the book had been passed to another to record that particular individual's personal expertise.

Although none of the quack remedies contain anything of direct importance to the history of medicine, recipe 35 (which deals with the use of violets to open locks) is worthy of note as a rare example of the transference of the principles of sympathetic medicine to be applied to inanimate objects.⁴⁶⁷ While the recipe itself may be nonsense, it is nevertheless interesting for what it tells us of how medical principles could be linked with quack magic. The possible reference to the SATOR palindrome in recipe 34 is also of particular interest, as this also appears to fall firmly within the tradition of popular medicine and folk magic, in contrast with the more scientific approaches more typical of the Ince book.⁴⁶⁸

To conclude, the Ince book appears to be a draft notebook of the mid-sixteenth century intended for eventual publication as a medical text, although it does not correspond directly to any known publication of this period. The contents of the text correspond well with the state of medical knowledge in England at that time, and while on the one hand it might be considered slightly disappointing that the book does not contain more that is new or unusual, on the other it is useful to have the confirmation from a new, independent and reasonably closely dated text of just what knowledge was widely available. Perhaps the most important information to come out of the study concerns the *materia medica* found in the Ince book, which shows a wider overall range of ingredients than other comparators from the period, but with differing proportions of ingredient types.⁴⁶⁹ A full and detailed discussion of the concordance between this and the selected comparators falls beyond the scope of an MPhil thesis, but it would provide a very valuable direction for future study.

⁴⁶⁷ See p. 111.

⁴⁶⁸ See pp. 114-17 and Appendix 11.

⁴⁶⁹ See pp. 70-77 and Appendix 6

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‘John Ince His Booke’:
A previously unrecorded medical text of the sixteenth century

by

Lesley Bernadette Maria Smith

A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham for the degree of
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

Volume Two
Appendices

Department of the History of Medicine
(Medicine, Ethics, Society, History)
The University of Birmingham
March 2014

Appendix 1. 'John Ince his Booke': Photographic copy and transcription

A photograph is provided of each page of the book sequentially, interleaved with transcriptions of the text. In each case the photograph precedes the transcription.

[illegible]

John Ince His Booke

B1 001

Recipe 1

cy^d the last day of Aprill mart^r maner pasafied ye wryett of tomas
englonde

Itm y^e iij daye of may Lenerd Smyt^r was a reist with a wriett be 4for
Wat^r Stanfast & Hare Smythe

Recipe 2

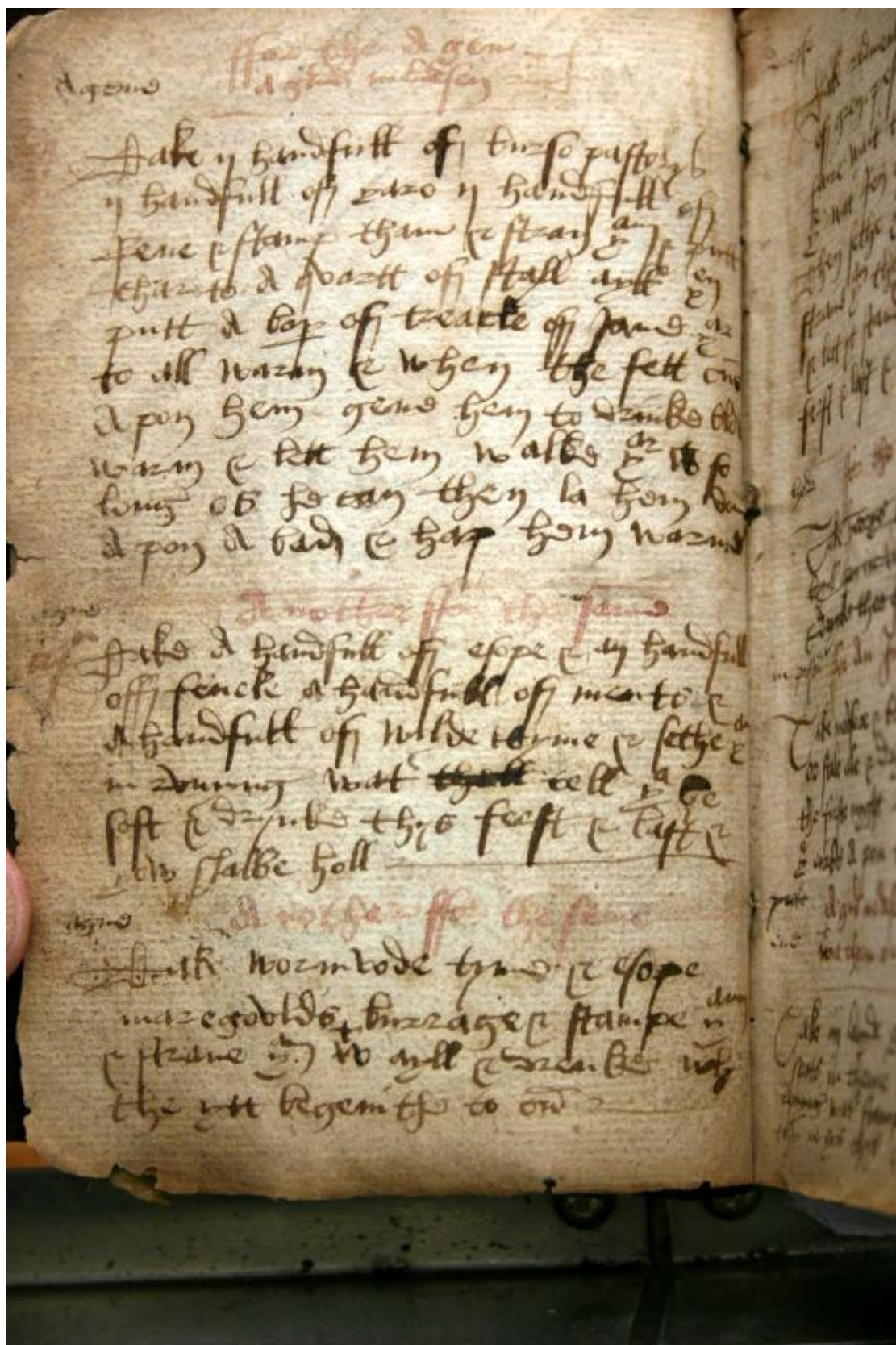
To make a batt for foshe..

Take Rede nettles wth & put theme in a

Recipe 3

for to amvutt..... ... y^{ar} with

Take peneriall psale camamyle cumyng obj^{ct} of oyle mastek &
oyle benadicta ... idl camfure ijdle senamon & y^e lecor of hony a noyt
the baytt.....



B1 002

Recipe 4
ageu

ffor the ague
a gud medecen

Take ij handfulls of burso pastorys ij handfull of yaro ij handfull
of reue & stamp tham & stran y^{am} & putt thar to a quartt of stalle ayll then
putt a box of treacle of jane y^{ar} to drink blode warm & let hem walk y^{ar}... so long
.... can then la heme down apon a bed & hap hem warme

Recipe 5
ageu

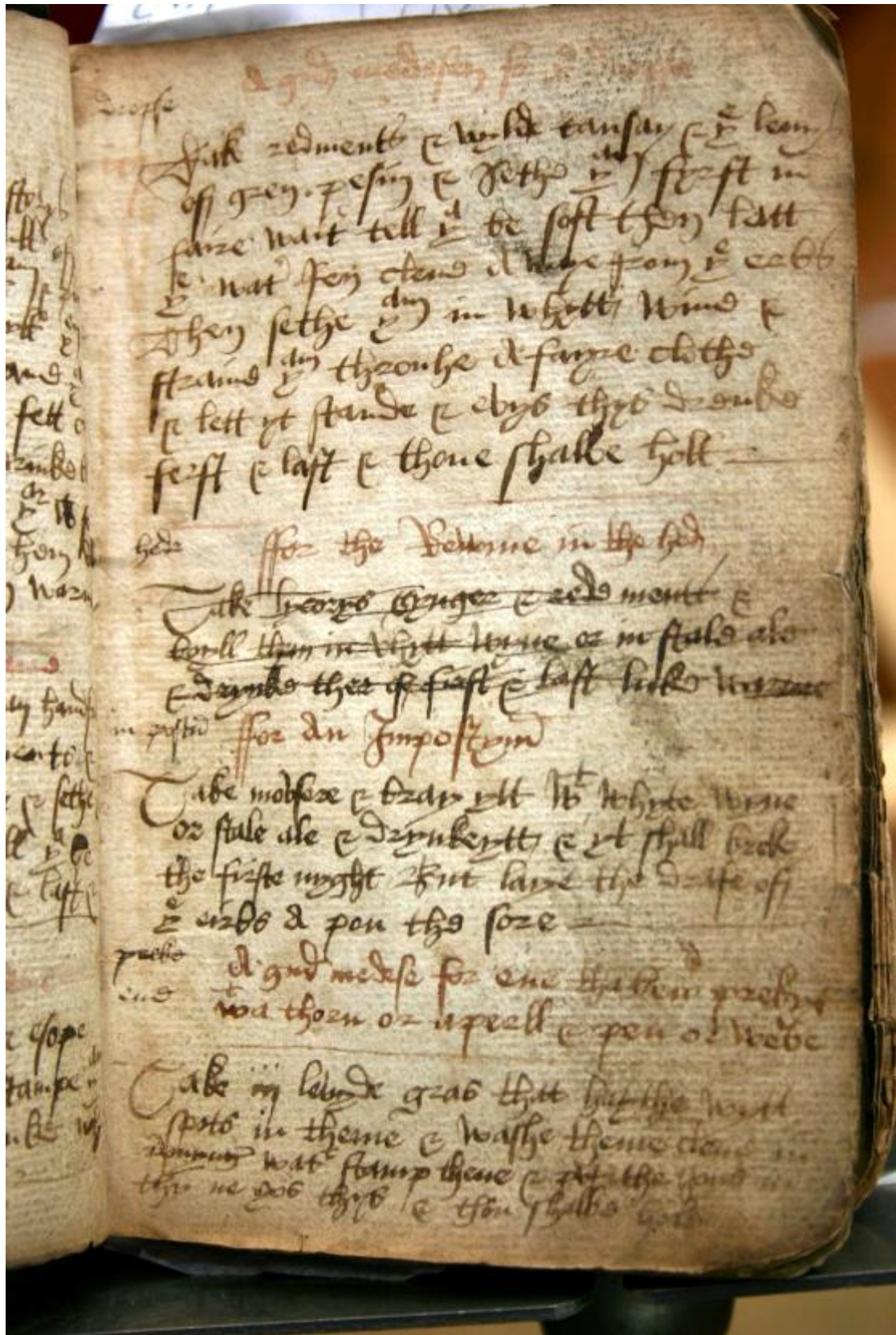
another for the same

Take a handfull of esope an handfull of fenele a handful of
mente & a hanfull of wilde thyme & seethe in runyng wat^r ~~---~~
tell y^a be soft & drynke thys ferst & last & you shalbe hol

Recipe 6
ague

another ffor the same

Take wormvode tyme & esope marigolds burrage & stampe y^{am}
& strayne y^{am} with ayll & drenk when the ytt begenithe to cm



B1 003

Recipe 7
dropse

a gud medesen for the dropse

Take red ments & wylde tansay & ye leavys of gren pesm &
sethe y^{am} first in faire water tell y^a be soft then
latt ye wat^r en clene away from ye erbs then
sethe y^{am} in whytt wine & straine y^{am} throuhe a
fayre clothe & lett yt stand & evys thys drenke ferst & last &
thoue shalbe holl

Recipe 8
hede

ffor the Reume in the hede

~~Take lycorys gynger & rede ments & boyll them in whytt wyne or in
stale ale & drynke therof first & last look warme~~

Recipe 9
Impostu

ffor an Impostym

Take mousere & bray yt w^t white whyne or stale ale & drynkeytt & yt
shall brek the firste nyght But lay the drafe of y^e erbs a pon the sore

Recipe 10
preke ene

a gud medese for ene tha ben prekyt w^a thorn or a perll or pen
or webe

Take iij levyd gras that haythe wytt spots in theme & washe
theme clene in runyng wat^r stamp y^{am} & put the jus in thy ... vs
& thou shalbe hole

For the Gyfte & for the gods
 & for all maner of achys that be
 in may or woman's body
 Take a quere fowr the feere no less
 & kep hem a hys then take .ij. or .iii.
 galons of oyle ollete & set it on a
 frez in a bright pot of bras & make
 ytt to seche then take the fowr & brnde
 hem fyste moeths & all & put hem
 in to the pot quere in to the oyle
 & houlde hem fast downe in a falk
 tellys to do & let hem beche ppy
 onryb then take the oyle that ys of
 the vesidens kepe it in a glasse for
 any maner of achys in cont pld
 & anoynt the place that it wyl
 nedo & let ytt in
 and if a may woman or chyld
 happys to be take in fardys
 ytt is not suer the wiche
 charys as dyssyd to ammaner of
 wese then take .ij. or .iii. & wylt

B1 004

Recipe 11
for achys

ffor the Syatyke & ffor the gout & for all maner of achys that
brede in man or womans bons

Take a queke foxe the fexere ys best & kep hem a lyve then take
iiij or iiiij gallons of oyle olleve & set yt on y^e fyer in a briyght pott of bras
& make ytt to sethe then take the fox & bind hem faste mouthe
& all & put heme in to the pot quyke in to the oyle & houlde hem fast
down with a fork tel he be dede & let hem sethe xx iiij ourys then take
the oyle that ys of the resedue kepe yt in a glase for enye maner of ache
in bons pvyd & anoyent the place ther w^h wher ys nede & let ytt in -

For ye fare

and yff a man woman or chylde happyne to be take with farye
& yf ytt be not knowyn the wiche thaye are dyssesyde be any
maner of wies then take iiiij or v whytt

B1 004A

Soke rootes & scrape them klene & then brus the in a & mart [er]
put ther to a lyttell quantity of stall ale & lett yt be stranett
throwe a lennet clothe & gyve yt heme luke warme at ons – iiij
or v spoonful thre or iiij tymes eurye thys drynke & he shalbe
holl be gods grace for thys hayth bene pvyd for sartane

Take Footes & the Shays thens
 blowe & then burne them in a mynt
 & put the to a holl quantity of stall
 also & lett ytt be strawed throu a
 linnen clothe & gyve yt to some lylke
 wylme at one - my or v. sponfull
 thes or my tymb cmyt thes deynbe
 & he shalbe holl. be godt grace for
 thes gayth beu plyn for sactun
 So make a may to poffe
 Take Centaury & Sethe ytt in a mynt
 my wat & let the syde deynbe
 of luke wazme my or my tymb & he
 shalbe holl also take moffers
 stamp ytt & steame ytt w stallake
 & deynbe thes off & he shalbe sped
 in haff
 For on that spolyche in
 my steps
 Take Conyngwood & steame holl w
 wano & let the beu deynbe thes off
 when he gayth to bedde & he shalbe
 safe

B1 005

Recipe 12
pes

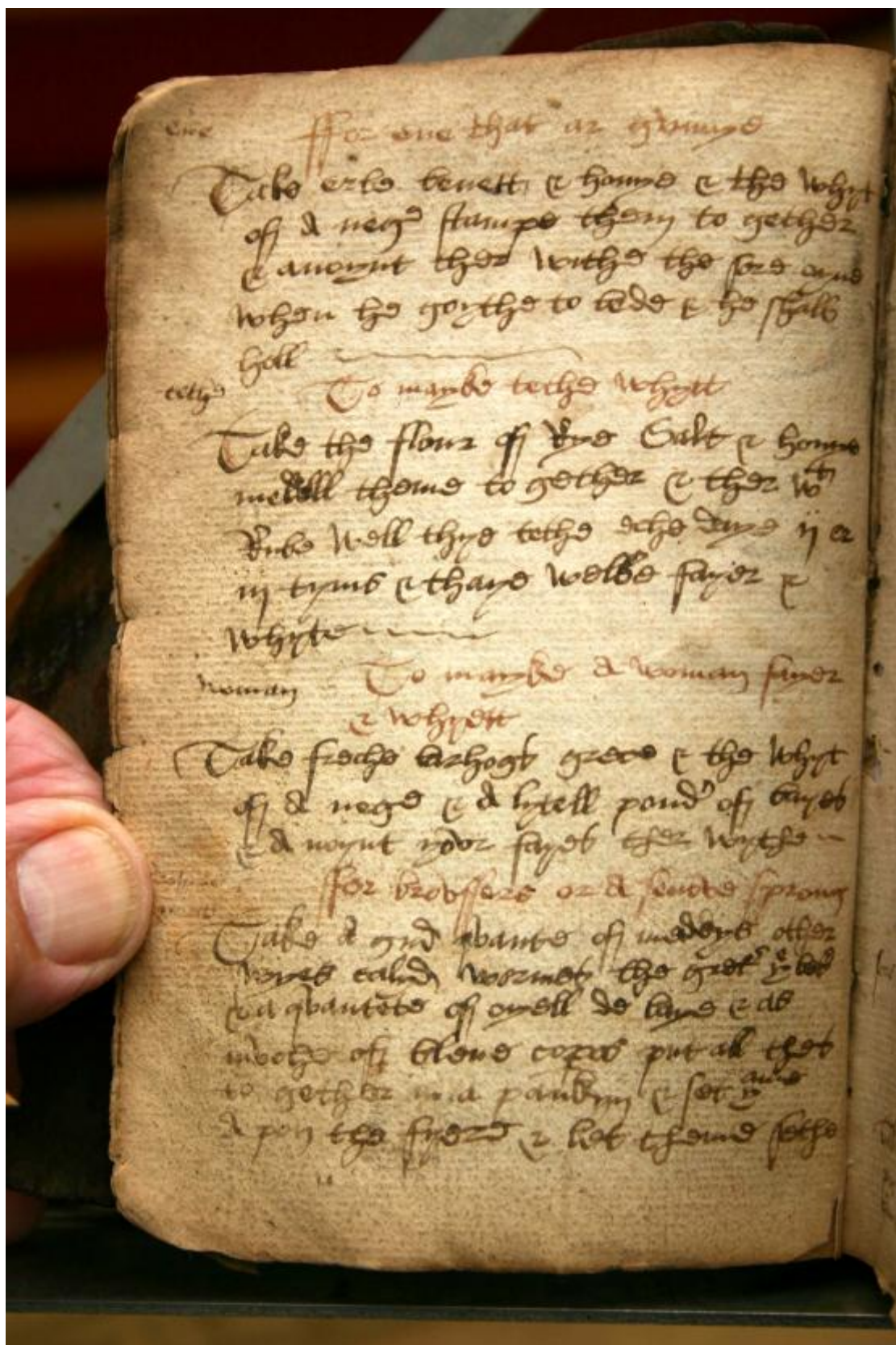
To make a man to pesse

Take sentuarye & sethe ytt in runing wat^r & let the syke drenke
yar of luke warme iij or iiij tyme & he shalbe hole also take
moussere & stampe ytt & strane ytt with stall ale & drynke
ther of & he shalbe esed in haste

Recipe 13
Spekyn in slepe

for on that spekythe in yar slepe

Take sothernwyode & tempe het w^t wyne & let the sike drynke
ther of when he goyth to bedde & he shalbe saife



B1 006

Recipe 14

ffor ene that ar gumye

Take erbe benett & honye & the whyt of a nege stampe them together anoint ther with the sore eyne when he goythe to bedde & he shalbe holl

Recipe 15
tethe

To mayke tethe whytt

Take the flour of rye salt & honye medll theme together & ther w^t rube well thye tethe eche daye ij or iij tymes & thaye wel be fayer & whyte

Recipe 16
woman

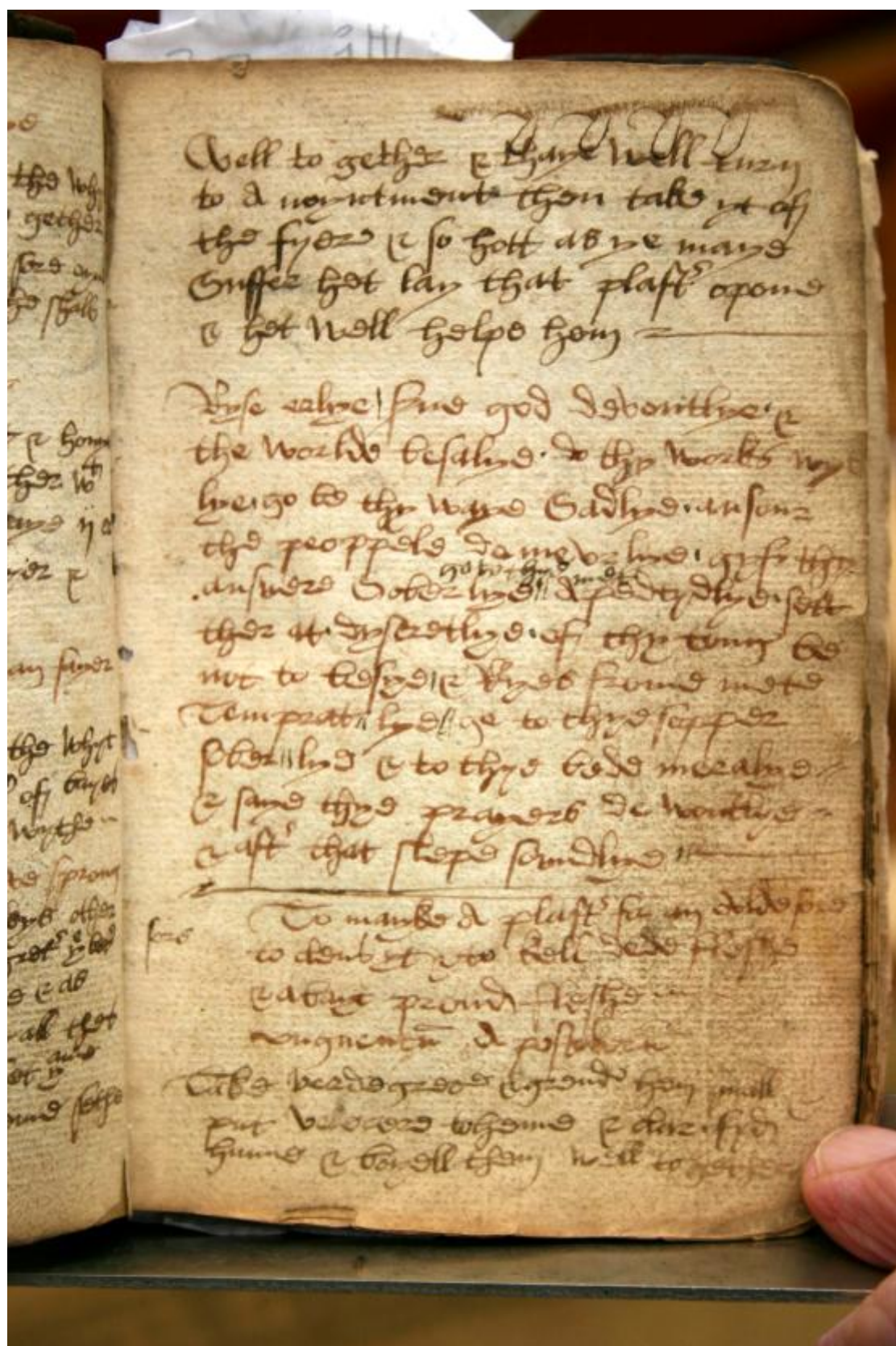
To mayke a woman fayer & whyett

Take freche larhogs grece & the whyt of a nege & a lytell poudr of bayes & a noynt your fayer ther wythe

Recipe 17
brosers

for a broussers or a Senoue Sprong

Take a gud quantite of maddys other wyse calyd wormes the gret^r ye & a quantete of oyell de baye & as muche of bleue copos put all that together in a pankyn & set y^{dme} a pon the fyer & let theme sethe well together & theye well turn to a noyntment then take yt of the fyer & so hott as ye maye suffer het lay that plastr opone & het well helpe hem -



B1 007

Recipe 18

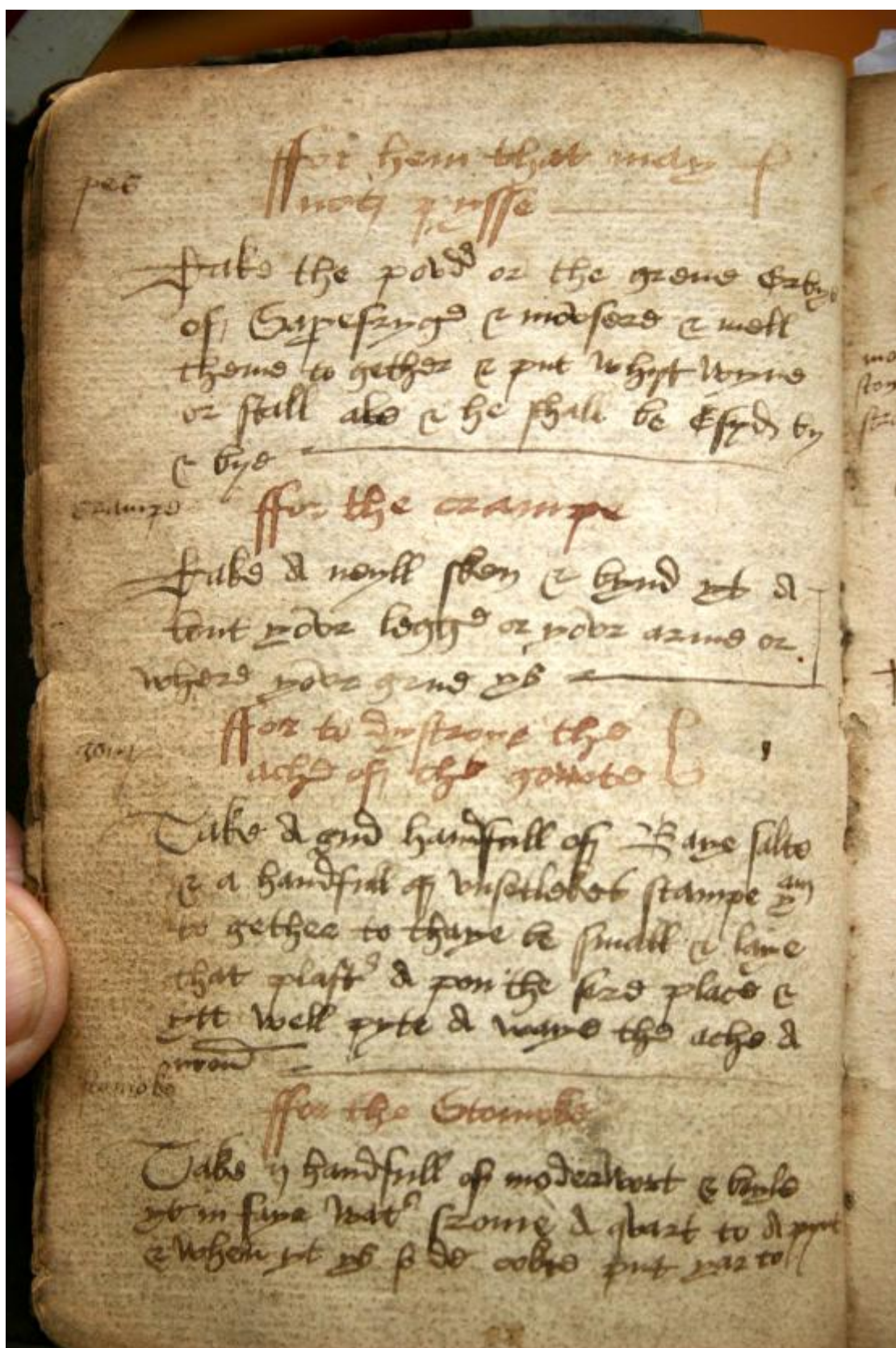
Rise earlye // sue god devoutlye . & the worlde besalye . do thy
demourlye . gyf thy answers soberlye go to thy mete apedydlye
sett ther at dyscretely . of thy tong be not to besye / & Ryes frome
mete Tempratlye // go to thye sopper soberlye & to thy bede meralye // & saye
thye prayers devoutlye // & aft^r that slepe soundlye

Recipe 19

To mayke a plast^r for an oulde sore to clene yt & to kell ded
fleshe & abayte proud fleshe – unguentum apostelern

sors

Take verde grece & grende hem small & put venegar to heme
& clarifyd hunne & boyell them well together



B1 008

Recipe 20
pes

ffor hem thet may not pysse

Take the poudr or the grene erbys of saxefryge & mousere & mell them together & put whyt wyne or stall ale & he shall be esyd by & bye

Recipe 21
crampe

ffor the crampe

Take a noyll sken & bynd yt about youre legge or your arme or where your grue ys

Recipe 22
gout

ffor to destroye the ache of the gout

Take a gud handful of baye salte & a handful of unsot lekes stamp y^{am} together to thaye be small & lye that plastr a pon the sore place & ytt well pyte a waye the ache a non

Recipe 23
Stomoke

ffor the Stomike

Take ij handful of moderwort & boyle yt in fayre watr frome a quart to a pynt & when yt ys sode cokte put yar to ij onces of suger & take thys watr & put ther to ij spounfule of the jeuse of maloue & mekle theme together & drynke yt ferst & laste

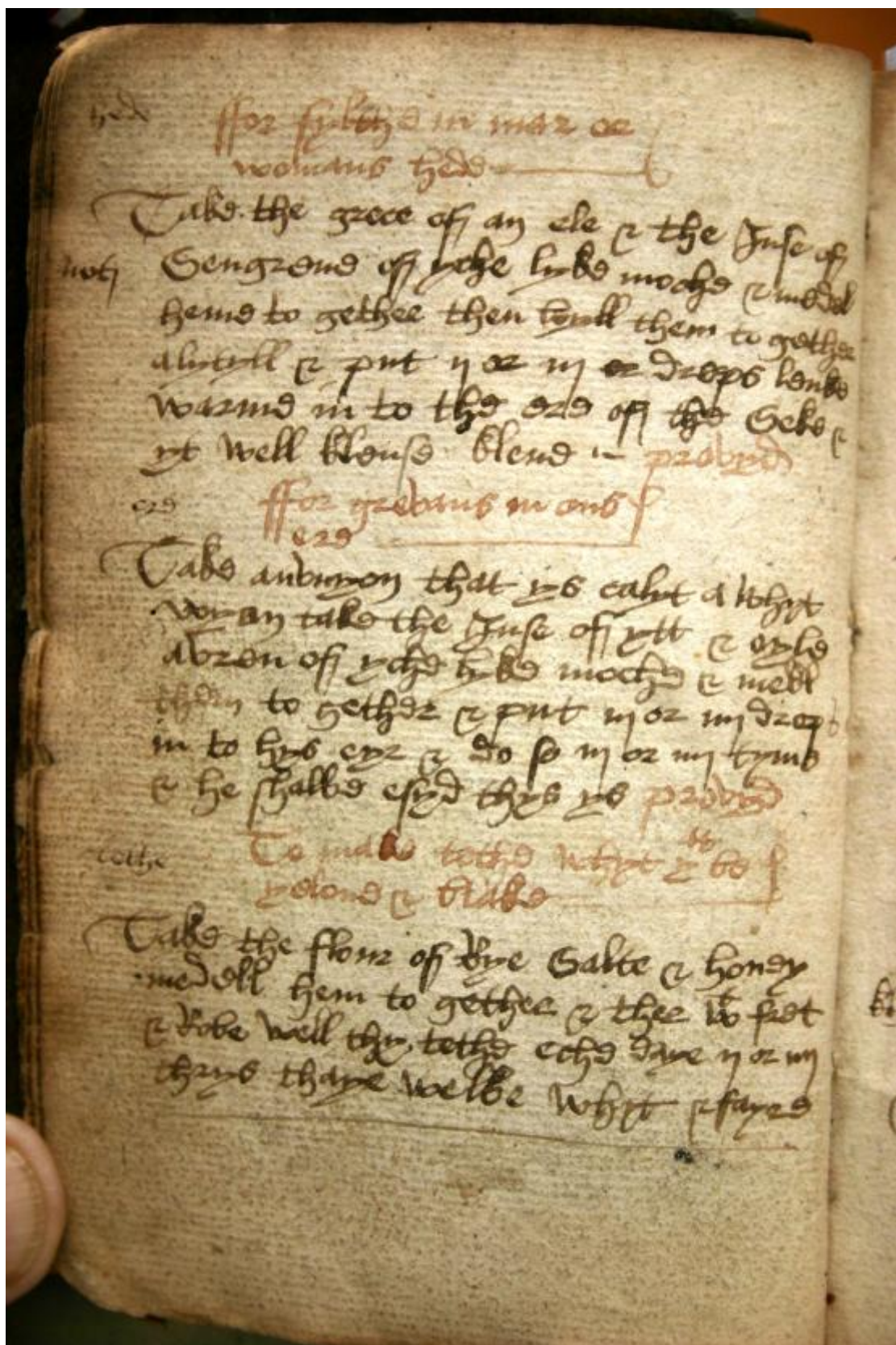
11 ounces of Sugar & take thes hat &
 put thee to 11 spoonfulls of the Jeno of
 maldo & medle thes to gether & drinke
 it fast & last
 for the mader the stone colde
 for the strangury & Cofferand
 medican
 Take some ferns & some moxwort. Vene
 of eche & hand full & a handfull of the
 hand a roome of comyn & a roome
 of barres a quartite of wormed Rose & Rose
 & if ye maye hand am deds mouth in
 or in ceaps of the mader strike & chop
 all thes & set as ye would wote & set
 the barres & the comyn in a mortare & put
 them all to gether in to a pestle & in to
 a strong pange & put thee to a quartite
 of orle cloffe & a quartite of mullinsay
 & set it upon the fire & flize it &
 when it is beyn hote put it in to
 a bage of linnen cloth the capes of
 ydow stonke & laye hett to ydow stonke
 so hett as ye maye soffe it & when it
 is coole take it & laye it in a bage
 in the bage & thes in or in my might &
 it shall be good for thes & thes

B1 009

Recipe 24
mother ston
soleke
strangure

ffor the mooder the stone coleke & for the strangyur
sofferand medesen

Take hone ferne esope mogewort reue of eche a handful and a handful of whet bran a nounce of coming & a nounce of bayes a quantete or wormod rose leues & yf ye maye have any rede ments iiij or iiij crops of rosemary take & chope all thes erbes as ye woulde worts & the baye & the comyn in a mortar & put them all to gether into a posnet or into a frying pane & put ther to a quantate of oyle oleffe & a quantate of malvasay & set yt upon the fyere & stur yte & when yt ys very hote put yt into a bage of lynett clothe the capas of your stomoke & laye hett to your stomoke so hotte as ye may suffer yt & when yt ys coude hete yt agayne w^t a lytell malvesay us thys iiij or iiij nights & ye shall be holl for thys ys provyd



B1 010

Recipe 25

hed

hot

ffor fylthe in mar or womans hede

Take the grese of an ele & the juse of sengreme of yche lyke
moche & medel heme together then boyle them together a lytyll
& put ij or iij drops leuke warme in to the ere of the
seke & yt well klense klene -- *provyd*

Recipe 26

ere

ffor grevans in ons ere

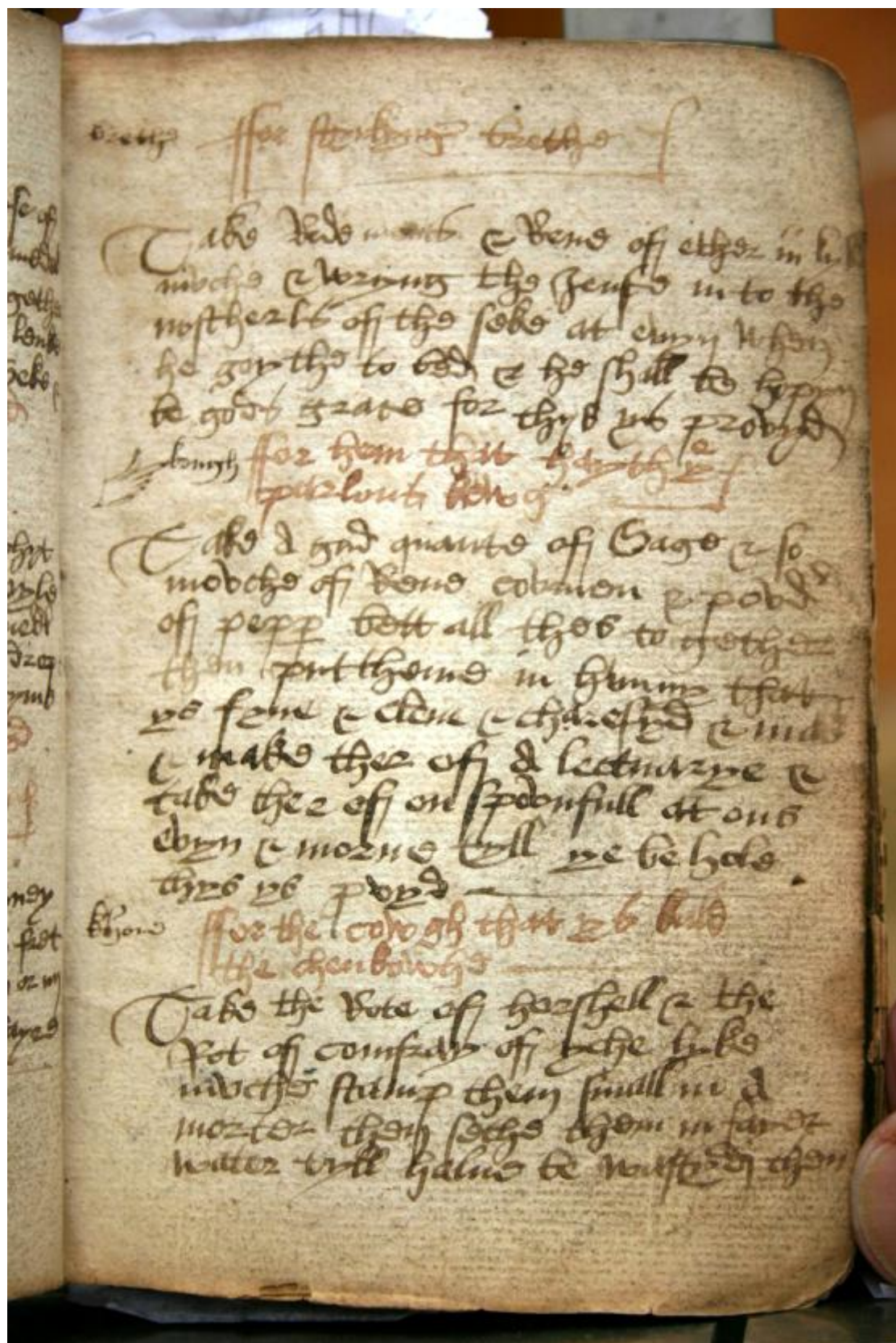
Take an unyon that ys calyt a whyt wyan take the juse of ytt & oyle auren of
yche lyke moche & medl them together & put iij or iiij drop into hys eyr & do
so iij or iiij tymes & he shalbe esyd thys ys provyd

Recipe 27

tethe

To make tethe white that be yelow & blake

Take the flour of rye salte & honey medell hem to gether there with fret &
robe well thy tethe eche day ij or iij thrys thaye welbe whyt & fayre



B2 001

Recipe 28
brethe

ffor the stinking brethe

Take rede mints & reue of ether in lyke moche & wryng the jeuse in to the nostherls of the seke at evyn when he goythe to bedde & he shall be hopyn be gods grace for thys ys provyd

Recipe 29
kough

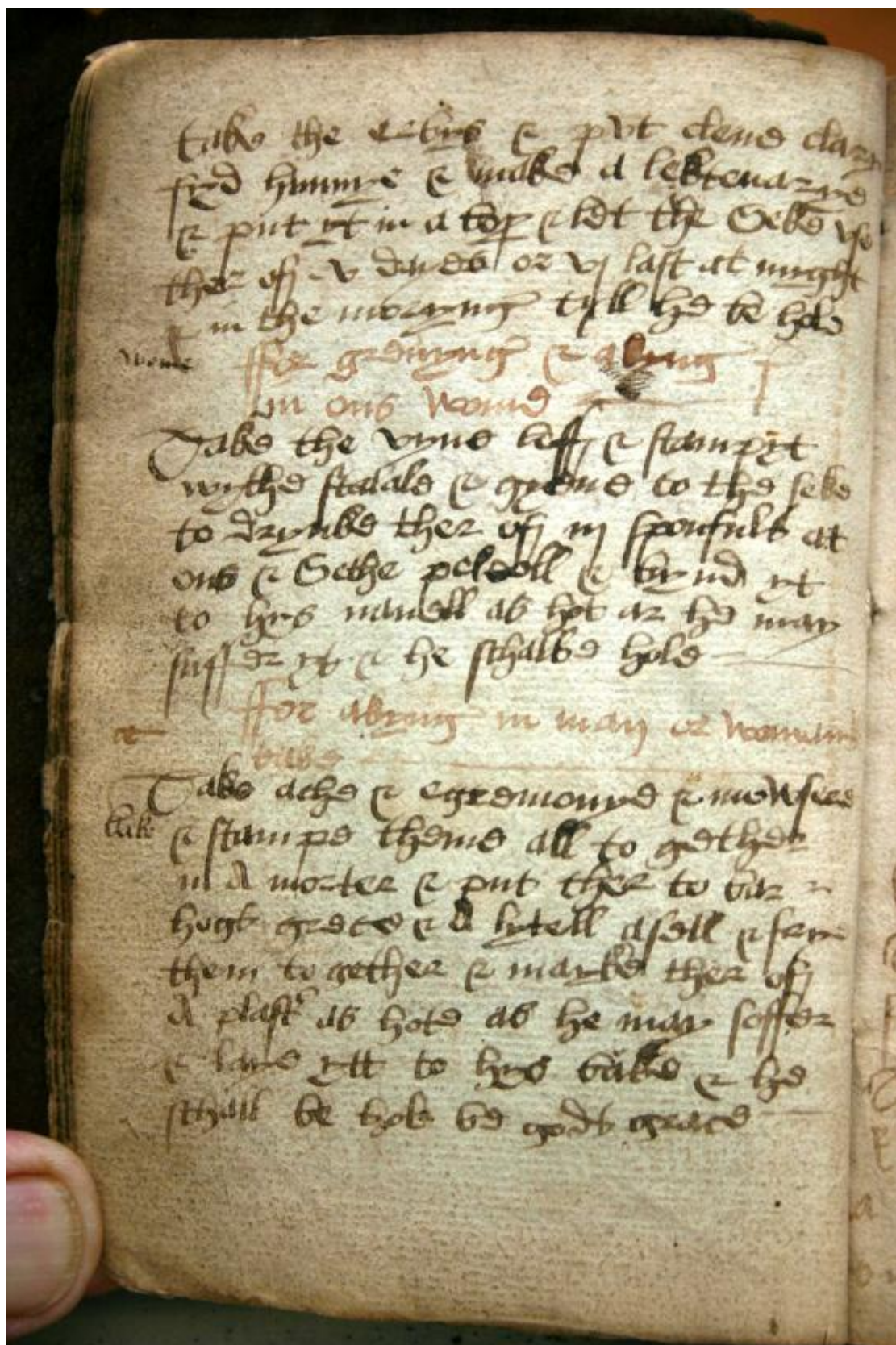
ffor hem that hayth y^e parlous kowgh

Take a gud quante of sage & so mouche of reue coumen & poud^r of pepp bett all thes together then put theme in hunny that ys fyn & clene & charesyd & make ther of a lectuanye & take ther of one spounfull at ons evyn & morne tyll ye be hole -- thys ys provyd

Recipe 30
khou

ffor the cowgh that ys kald the chen kowhe

Take the rote of horshell & the rots of comfray of yche lyke mouche stamp them small in a mortar then sethe them in fayer wat^r tyll halve be wastyd then take the erbys & put clene clarifyd hunny e & make a lekteuanye & put yt in a box & let the seke use ther of v days or vj last at nyght & in the morning tyll he be hole



B2 002

Recipe 31
wome

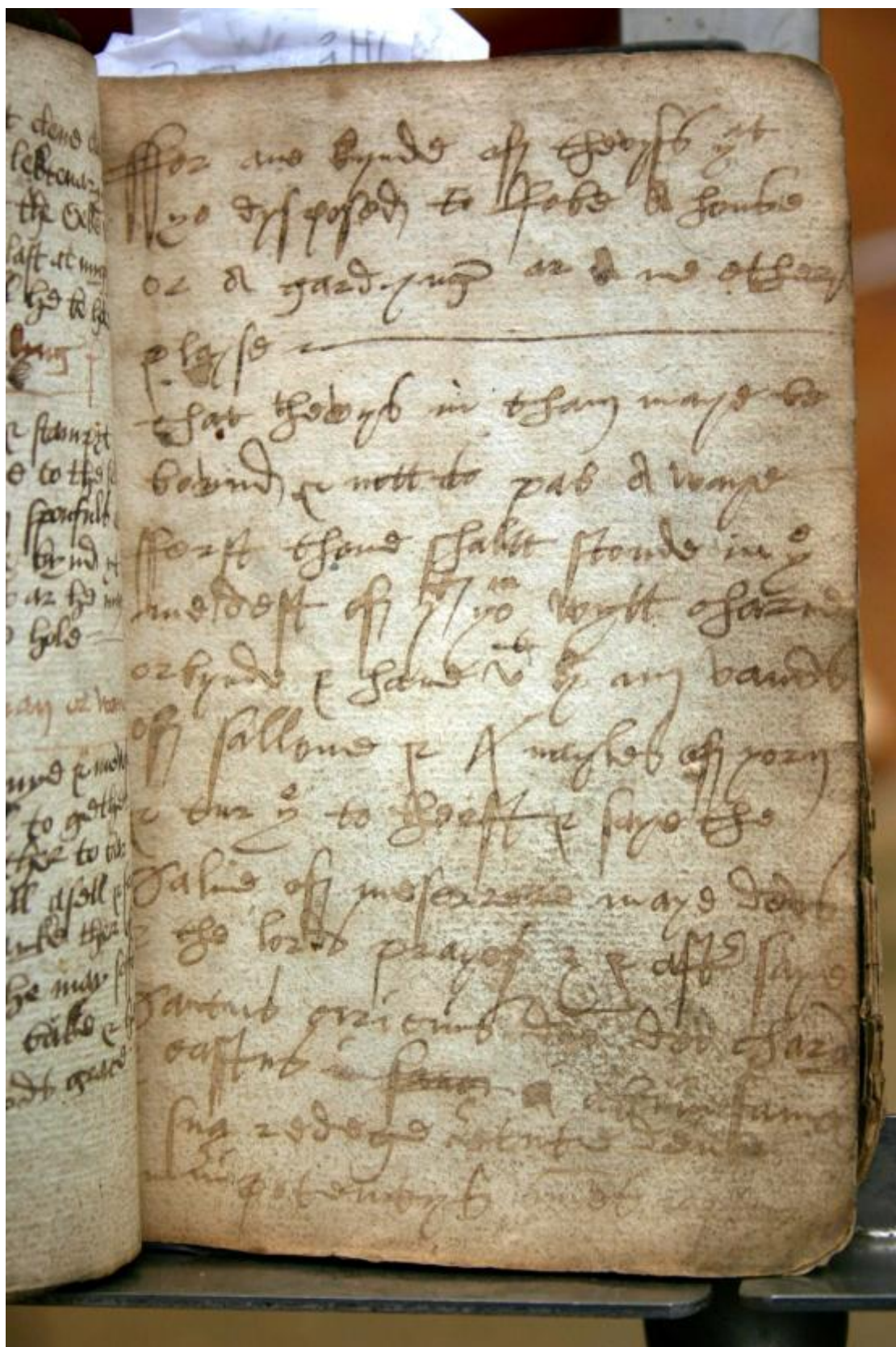
ffor grevyng & aching in ons wome

Take the vyne leff & stampe yt wythe stal ale & gyeue to the seke to drynke ther of iij spoonfuls at ons & sethe peleoll & bynd yt to hys navil is hot as he may suffer yt & he shalbe hole

Recipe 32
bake

ffor akyng in man or womans bake

Take ache & egremonye & mowsere & stampe theme all together in a mortar & put ther to barhogs grease & a lytell asell & frye them together & mayke ther of a plast^r as hot as ye may soffer & laye ytt to hys bake & he shal be hole be gods grace



B2 003

Recipe 33

ffor one kynde of theyse y^{af} be disposed to Robe a house or a gardyng or ane
other playse

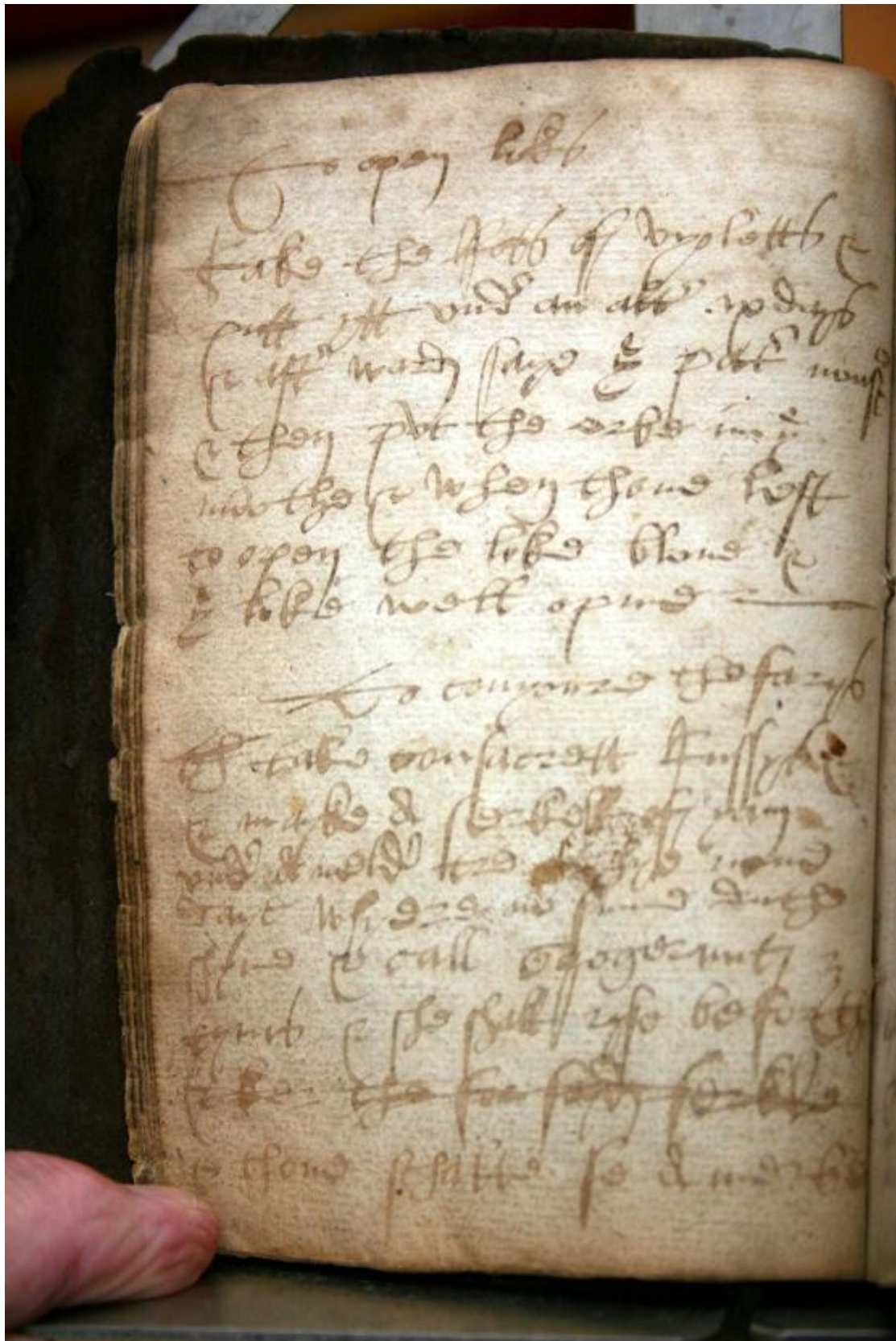
that theys in tham maye be bynd & nott to pass away fferst thoue shaltt
stond in ye mederst of yt yo^m wytt charme or bynde & have w^t ye any
...vands of salloue & 4 nails of yorn & turn ye to the est & saye the salme of
meserrere may^e deus & the lords prayer & after say santus ciricus deo chard
& castus

animalia singula & affodina munda
 & omnia in terra allasat & signat
 & dicitur vgo circa n. & vnde m. in
 admittitur. ut amos fuit leton
 in terra & locum latonob fuit
 fuit & aialia quocumque uocantia
 & fuit dantur ut fuit mitus ligat
 & estimat ut ex uis va liant in
 non pat. & si & fuit fuit & m.
 & in dicitur & m. & dicitur & fuit
 nat. ut ibi noq. fuit. nec lat. & m.
 animal nocent in terra & erat. m. & 29
 animalia & uocantia ligat. Sicut hoc an
 lia erant capta & ligata & uocata &
 fuit uoc. & fuit & erat capta & ligata &
 uocata & fuit fuit & pot. & erat capta &
 ligata in dicitur & uocata & fuit & m.
 lacus illicite fuit locum in terra fuit
 nocua animalia & fuit fuit & estimat
 in dicitur & copassit & impo. & fuit
 fuit & nec fuit & fuit & fuit & fuit
 & nec m. & nocua & fuit & fuit & fuit
 pot. & fuit fuit fuit & fuit in
 vnde angl. & fuit & fuit & fuit & fuit
 fuit & fuit. Sicut fuit cl. m. in fuit
 in m. dicitur fuit. Ita copassit ut p. fuit
 fuit & capiat & fuit & fuit & fuit
 fuit quocumque nocua & fuit ligat

monfz vob diffolnere voluerot. Ad
 efgant of v. 4. vandy mab. 4. circule
 of fapob e fang tgom vpon vdy of
 y. 4. maylo. e fang o t n vop qm in
 b n p l r d o m a r i b / o t n vop qm in ori
 ento d o m a r i b / o t n vop qm in occide
 li d o m a r i b / o t n vop qm in p t v n t r i o n a
 o n a l i b / d o m a r i b / p t i b / o v o b f r e s
 p o t o l l i t o b e f o r o t o b / f a t o v / d e p o b
 l a c c p i b / f o r t m a b n l n v o t i t o b / d o
 i n f i p i f i a t / e f i c u f i g i l l a t / o f i p
 l o c y / z g o r a z / 7 p u t v o z i n q m
 f i c o o b r a p t o v o b / f i n o p a t m o b p e
 f n / i l l i a t o f n e l o c u m t n t v o f i n o
 m a l a q u e n u p r i a l i a c i r c u f p e r c i a
 i n t n t o b c o p u d u t f i n c o p a f f i b
 i n d i f t o r i l i t / f i m m o b i l i t / d i g i t / p
 i l l a / 7 n o t a p i l l a q c r a m i t c o l a
 e f o r t m a m a r o e b r a g m d i b e p
 u t q m f i n f i c u r e n l i p o b o t v o x i o
 n o t o a l i a t
 3. a d m m a n o b e p p i c i a t i n c i r c u
 e d i / a u d w y l o b v o r k o p / y v x p m
 f a y / 3. c r o / 3. p a d / 3. a v o b

Recipe 34

In animalia singla custodia ma....s Suae inclusa illos ac conservat +
 Santum ergo circium ti vocamus in adiutorium ut omnes hunc locum in
 trantis latrones sive fures vel animalia que cumque nocivitia confundantur ut
 firmiter ligantur et retiniantur ne exire valiant
 In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti Amen
 +In bethalem iude ubi christus natus est ibi neque fur nec latrones animal
 nocens in ventus erat nisi in animalibus exceptis ligatis / Sicut hec animalia
 erant capta et ligata ac retenta et sicut voce christus erat captus ligatus et
 retentus et sicut sanctus petrus erat captus et ligatus in vinculis et retentus Ita
 omnes latrones illicite hunc locum intrantes sive nociva animalia stupefacti
 retiniantur et in vinculis et compassibus impediuntur et confundantur nec
 exire valiant antequam voluero / nec nociant rebus creatoris potencia / and
 then fastene strongly in every angle of the close one of the nayles saying thus.
 Sicut hii clavi infix immobiliter stant Ita confusi ut periss capiantur omnes
 illiciter intrantes sive quocumque nocentia et firmiter ligetur quousque omnes
 dissolvere voluere And thane of the 4 wandis make 4 circlets or hoopcs &
 hang them upon every of ye 4 nayles & say o tu rex qui in austraces
 dominaris / o tu rex qui in oriente dominaris / o tu rex qui in occidente
 dominaris / o tu rex qui in septentrionalibus dominaris partibus/ o vos
 fratres sotellites & sorores/ Sator/ atripos/lachesis fortunam subuertite his in
 fixifiant & sicut sigillatus est iste locus .7. horarum .7. puteorum inferni sic
 omnes raptores sive latrones ac fur illicite hunc locum in trantes sive mala
 quecumque animalia circumferencia in trantes confundatis in compassibus in
 visibiliter & immobiliter ligetis quia illa .7. nomina per illum qui creavit celam
 & terram mare et omniaque in eis est ut quamdiu hii circuli pendent exire non
 valiant
 Also say 3 times ad iuva nos & perficiat in circum dei / and wyles thou
 workest this uxperiment say .3. cre. 3. pater. 3. aves



B2 006

Recipe 35

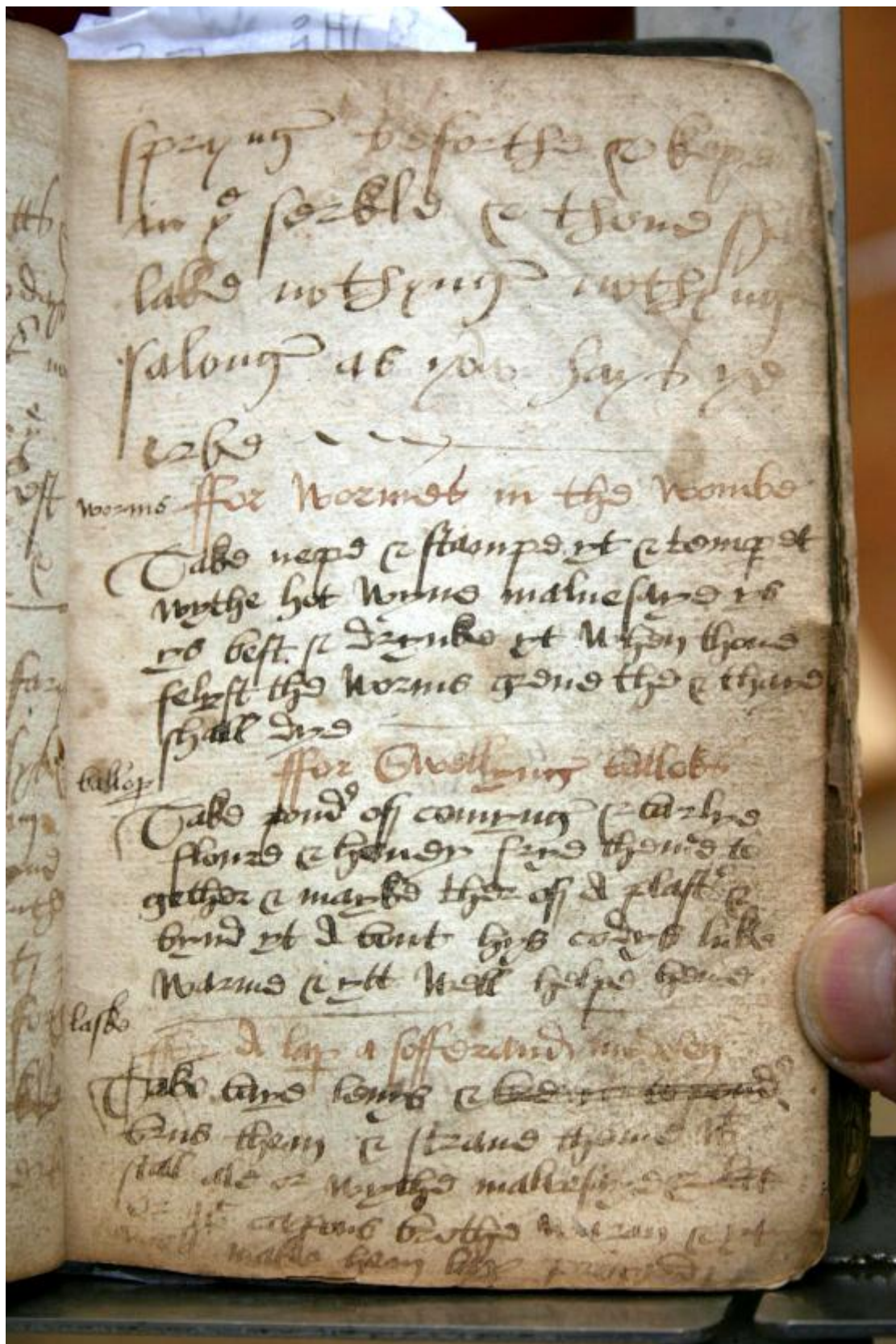
To open loks

Take the rots of vyolette & put ytt under an alt^r ix days & after wards saye ye pat^r noust^r & then put the erbs in the mouthe & when theme left to open the loks bloue & ye loke well opene

Recipe 36

To conjure the farys

Take consacrett russys & mayke a serkell of yan vnd^r a nelde tre at hye none daye whyere on sunne duthe shyne & call shogernut 3 tymes & she shall rase before the & the fore sayd serkle & theme shalte se a herb spryng before the & kepe in ye serkle & theme shall lake nothing nothing salong as you hays ye erbe....



B2 007

Recipe 37
worms

ffor wormes in the wombe

Take nepe & stampe y^r & temp et wythe hot wyne malvesye ys ye best & drynke yt when thou felyst the worms greue the & thaye shall dye.

Recipe 38
ballox

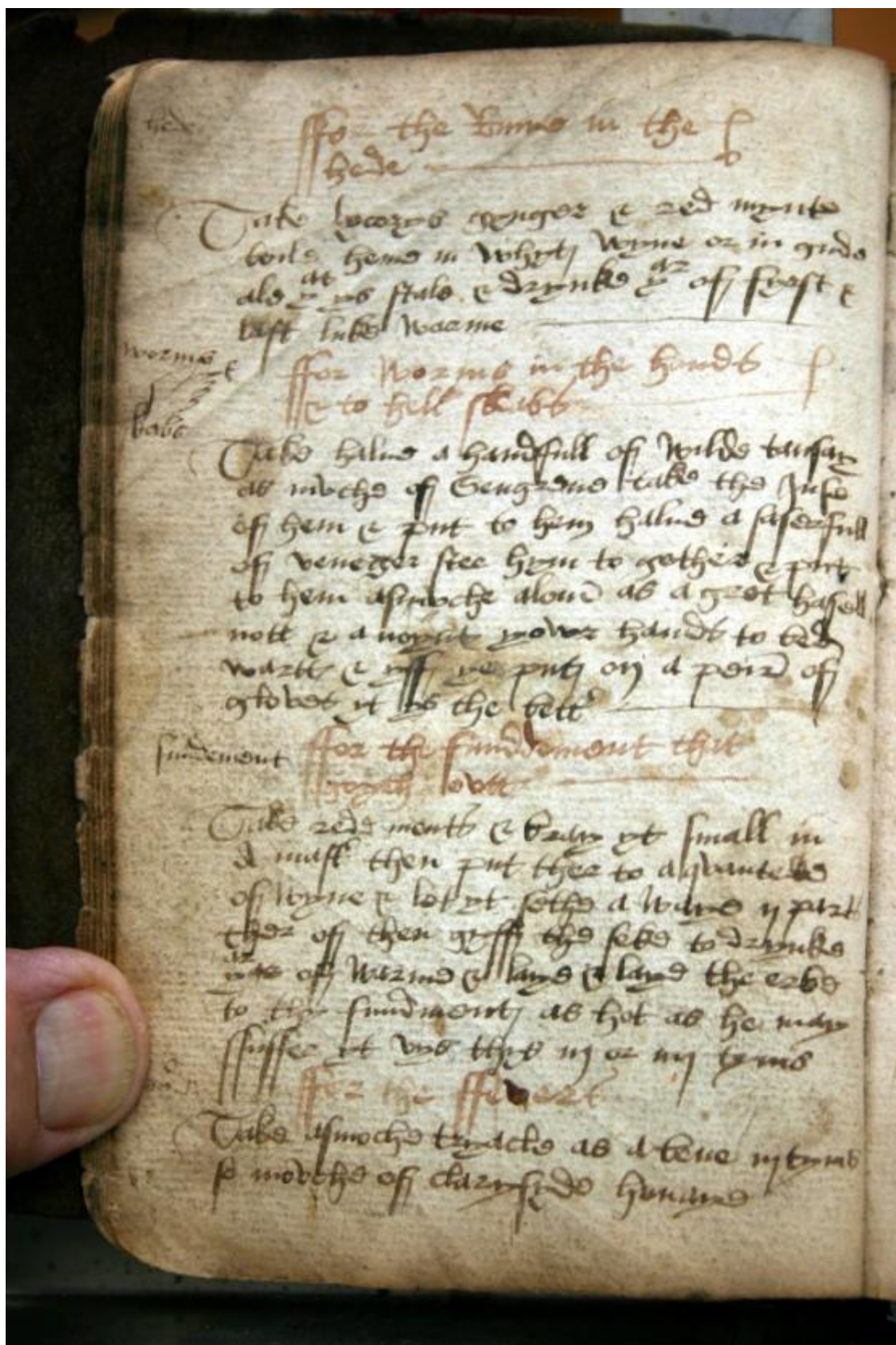
ffor Swellyng balloks

Take poud^r of coming & barley floure & honey frye theme together & mayke there of a plast^r & bynd yt about hys codys luke warme & ytt well helpe heme.

Recipe 39
laske

ffor a lax a sofferand remedy

Take baye levys & brene to poud^r brus them & strane them wth stall alle or wythe malvesey hott or wth capons brothe warme & ytt well make hem lax – provyd



B2 008

Recipe 40
hede

ffor the Rume in the hede

Take lycorys gynger & red mynte boil heme in whyt wyne or in gud ale y^{at} ys stale & drynke yar of fyrst & last luke warm

Recipe 41
worms
scabs

ffor worms in the hands & to hell skabs

Take halve a handful of wylde tansay as moche of sengrene take the Juse of hem & put hem halue a saserfull of veneger steer hym together & put to hem as muche alom as a gret hasell nott & anoint your hands to bed wartt & yff ye put on a peir of gloves yt ys the better.

Recipe 42
fundament

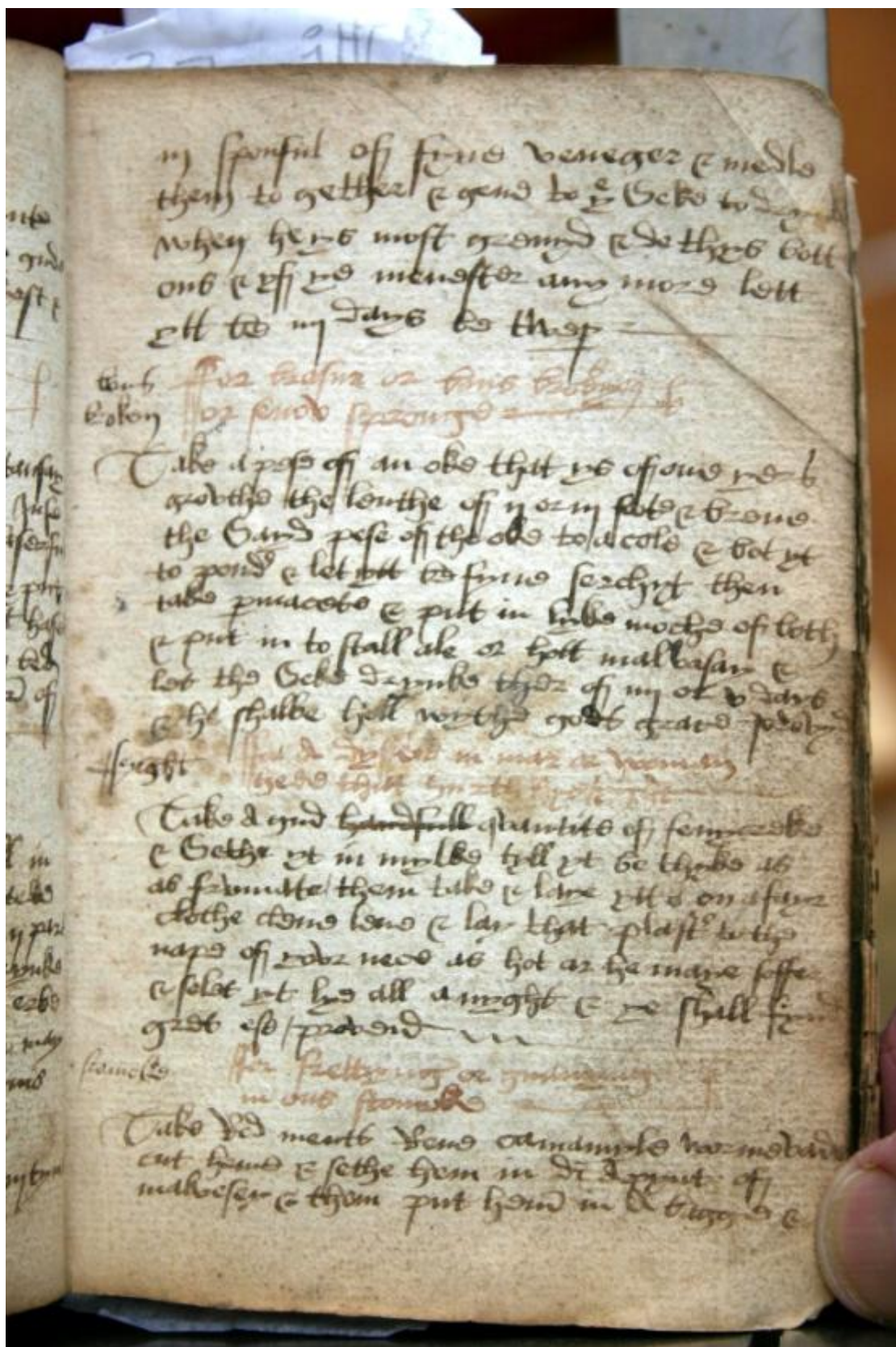
ffor the fundament that goyth out

Take rede ments & bray yt small in a mast^r then put ther to a quantete of wyne & let yt sethe a waye ij part ther of then gyffe the seke to drynke y^{ar} of warme & laye & laye the erbs to the fundament as hot as he may ssuffer yt uys thys iij or iiij tyms

Recipe 43

ffor the ffevers

Take as moche tryacle as a bene iij tyms so mouche of claryfyde hunaye iij spoonful of fine veneger & medle them together & geue to y^e Seke to drynk when he be most grevyd & do thys bott ons & yf ye menester any more lett ytt be iiij days be twex



B2 009

Recipe 44

ffor brasur or bons brokyn or senoue spronge

bons

brokyn

Take a pese of an oke that ys one yers grouthe the lenthe of ij
or iij foote & brene the sayd pese of the oke to a cole & bet yt
to a poudr & lett ytt be fine serchyt then take pemacete & put
in lyke moche of both & put in to stall ale or hot malvasey &
let the Seke drynke ther of iij or v days & he shalbe hell
wythe gods grace - provyd

Recipe 45

ffor dyses in mar or woman hede that hurts hys syght

Sseyght

Take a gud quantite of fenycroke & sethe yt in mylke tyll yt be thyke as
frumate then take & laye ytt on a fayre clothe clene lene & lay that plast^r to
the nape of your nece as hot as he maye soffer & so let yt lye all a nyght & ye
shall fynd gret ese - proved

Recipe 46

ffor fretting or gurgling in ons stomake

Stomoke

Take red ments Reue camamyle wormeuade cut heme & sethe hem in dl a
pynt of malvesey & them put hem in a bagge & all hote lay hem unto the
stomake of the seke pson & be the grace of god he shalbe hele shortly aft^r

all hole lay hem vn to the stomake of the
 Ihesu xpi & be the crace of god he schal be
 hole shortly aft

The vertue of carib
 Kersa pastor vs will stanche blode
 also he heh-t a ent

The verten of go-pyrno y^e yoff he be layd
 to a wound helwell he'll hem y^e schus it
 obt any othee carb Spozas curth so
 flage lyke

To make a may lase
 Take alom & lat y^e to mynd of the shap
 of a almond & also long & put y^e in y^ebe
 modys & fudge y^e & wet y^e in salt & put
 y^e in y^eonz fudiment & y^ett well cano y^e
 to hane a gnd seye

Answer for the same
 Take mulbe & shalwort & let y^e stou to
 y^e to n^ez could & put thereto y^e y^e y^e
 poufull of veneyge that y^e not to tart
 & drinke y^e lube warm & y^ett well cano
 to hane a lasse & none

go venoms of wod bynde
 Wodbynde y^e gnd to hane anker wound
 & bladdes almy teths & set in man to
 touth or any dysose in man modys
 the y^e or the wat dofolnt

B2 010

Recipe 47

The verteue of erbys

Borsa pastorys well staunche blode also he helyt a cut
The verteu of horpyne is yeff he be layd to a wound he well hell hem hys
selve w^t out any other erbe Epocras sayth so

Recipe 48
laske

To make a man laske

Take alom & lat yt be mayd of the shape of a almond & also long & put yt in
your mouthe & smuge yt & wet yt in salt & put yt in your fundament & ytt
well caus ye to have a gud sege

Recipe 49
laske

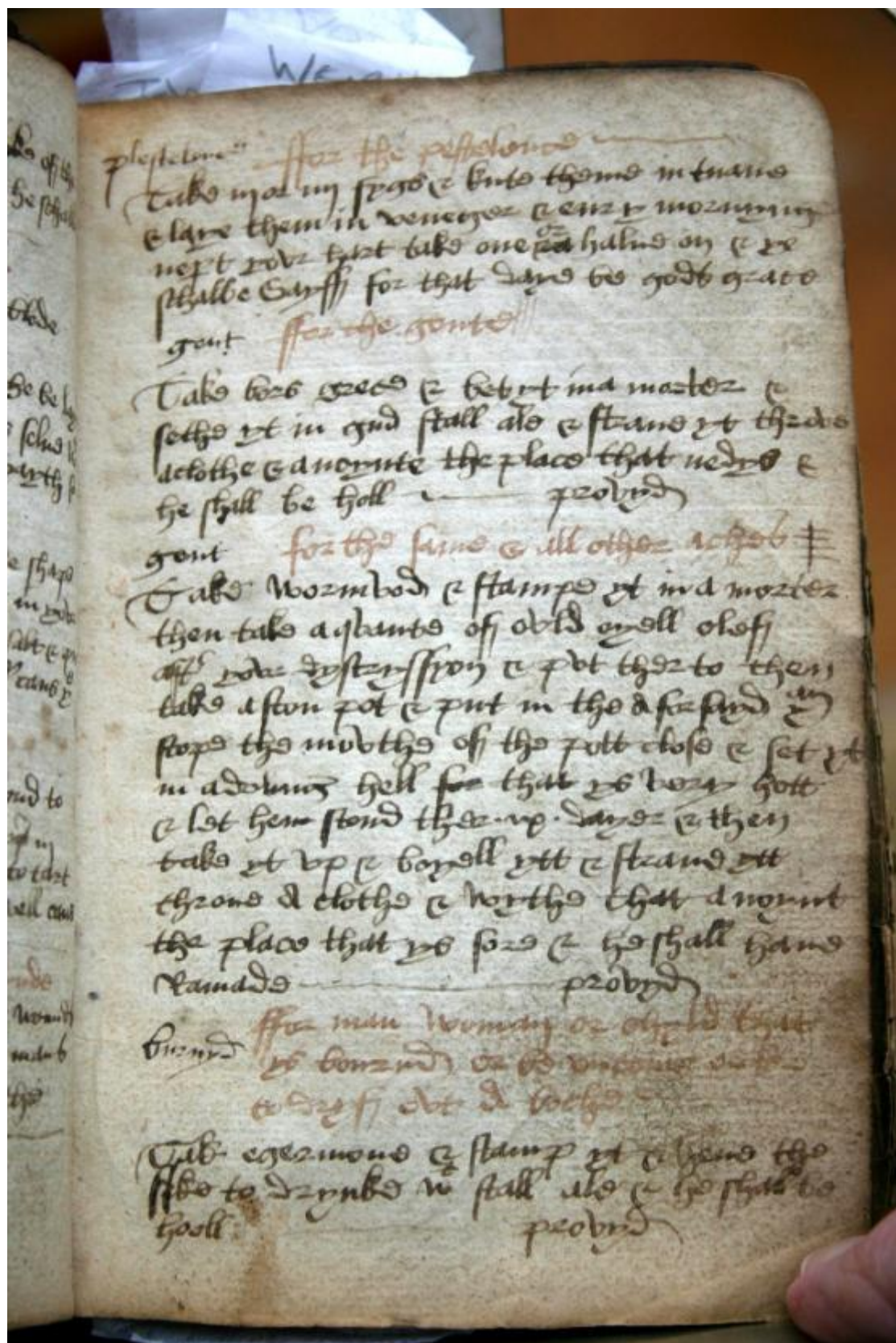
Another for the same

Take mylke & skalde yt & let yt stand to yt be very could & put therto ij or iiij
sponfull of veneg that ys not to tart & drynk yt luke warme & yt well caus to
have a laske a none

Recipe 50
woodbynd

the verteue of woodbynde

Wodbynd be gud to hele cankers wounds or bledders akyng tethe & sore in a
mans tongs or any dysese in mans mouthe the jus or the water deste



B 3 001

Recipe 51
pestelence

ffor the pestelence

Take iij or iiij fygs & kute theme in tuane & laye them in veneger & evry morning next yor hart take one or halve on & ye shalbe sayff for that daye be gods grace

Recipe 52
gout

ffor the gout

Take bors grece & betyt in a mortar & sethe yt in a gud stall ale & strane yt throue a clothe & anoynte the place that nedys & he shall be holl ... provyd

Recipe 53
gout

for the same & all other aches

Take wormuod & stampe yt in a mortar then take a quante of ould oyell olef aft^r your dystyssyon & put ther to the take a ston pot & put yt in the aforsayd *yan* stope the mouthe of the pott close & set yt in a doung hell for that ys very hot & let hem stand ther ix days & then take yt up & boyell ytt & strane ytt throue a clothe & wythe that anoiynt the place that ys sore & he shall hame Ramade -----Provyd

Recipe 54

ffor man woman or child that ys bourned or be
burnyed *ryf out a boche*

Take egermone & stamp yt & geue the seke to drynke with stalle ale & shall be hooll ----- Provyd

A remedy for the fumes
Take a handfull of warmbees, a handfull
of fetter fore a handfull of ashens a hand
full of tansie a handfull of Fede m...
a good quantite of vaine salt & put
all that in to a frying pan & put
that to a quantite of yoll oz of vaine
yea veeles & let them frye well
gettyng till yt be very thicke then
put in to a bag of lins cloth & lay
yt to the stomacke or to any other place
where yt needeth.

For the camp in
Take a quantity of powder & ram
it & put three to shott all round of
cannon & put it in a lion cloth
& lay it to the legs or arms when
the camp is smother the & it will
a good

*A good constant mount
for the ~~v~~lamb in the gods*

Tells of Job off Nailwort Salt & how
a wife & children & small home to
goe far on the first & then my the
might the gods & temple

Take some Rode & Gorge-milled
of quantity of blabbe fops &
the subjects of your in chert
and all to gether a milled

B3 002

Recipe 55
Ffarye

A meddysen for the farye

Take a handful of wormuod a of fether foye a handful of alhoue a of tansaye a handful of rede & a gud quantite of baye salt & put all this into a frying pane & put ther to a quantite of asell or of verjus & let theme frye well together tell ytt be very thyke then put ytt into a bage of lene clothe & laye yt to the stomoke or to any other wher ytt nedythe

Recipe 56
crampe

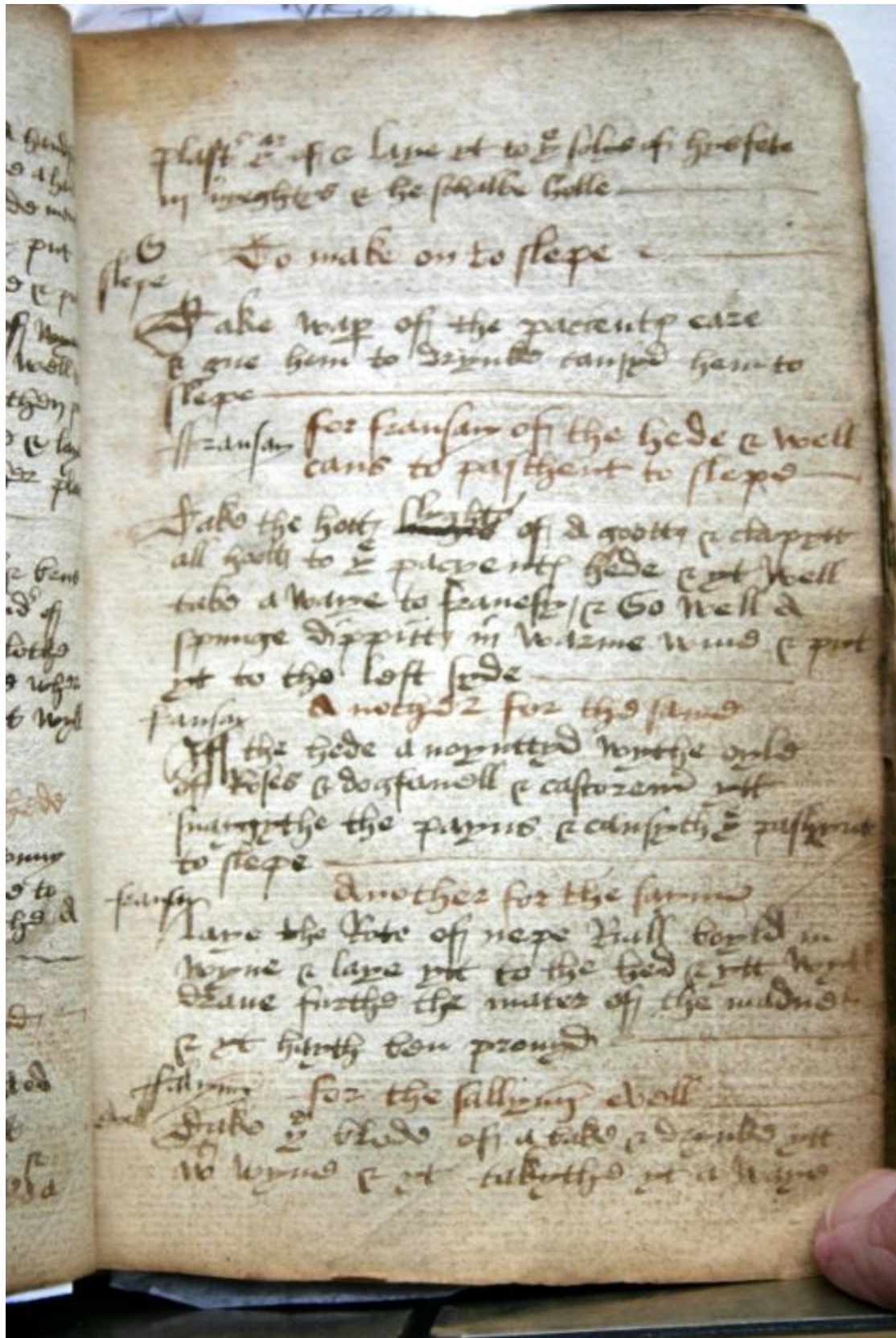
ffor the crampe

Take a quantite of pereuenkyll & brus yt & put ther to a lytell poudr of bremston & put yt in a len clothe & laye yt to the lege or arme wher the crampe grevythe the & yt wyll a voyede

Recipe 57
in ye hed

a gud oyent ment for the vamate in the hede

Take y^e jos of walnout salt & hony & wax & cusence & boyell heme together on the fyer & ther wythe a noynt thye hede & temples



B 002

Recipe 58
ageue

a medesend for a nagoue pvyd

Take wormewode & sothernwode a quantete of blake sope & the whyete of ij
or iij eygs & pound tham all together & make a plastr of & laye yt to the
solys of hys fete iij nyeghtys & he shalbe holle

B3 003

Recipe 59
slepe

To make on to slepe

Take the wax of the pacients eare & giue hem to drynk causyd hem to slepe

Recipe 60
ffransay

for fransay of the hede & well caus te paschent to slepe

Take the hotte slights of a goott and chapytt all hoott to ye pacyents hede & yt well take awao to franesy & so well a sponge dippitt in warme wine & put yt to the left side

Recipe 61
fransay

a nother for the same

Iff the hede anoynttyd wythe oyle of roses & dogfanell & castorem ytt suaygythe the payns & causyth the pashynt to slepe

Recipe 62
fransay

a nother for the Sayme

Laye the rote of nepe riall boyld in wyne & lay ytt to the hed & ytt wyll drane further the mater of the madness & yt hayth ben provyd

Recipe 63
ffalyng evell

for the falling evell

Take ye blode of a bake & drynk ytt w' wyne & yt takythe yt a waye

A table concerning v weight
 & measure w^{ch} the phisic^ons do
 commonly use & the interpretacion
 of the names of the compound me-
 dicines here containet wth the quantite
 & tyme that v ought to be resayd

The list & frist of all weight comon
 be used among phisic^ons

xx & berlyn corn xx corns mab
 a scruple ij scruples mab a drachem
 viij drachems mab a lb viii
 ounces mab a pound a quarter
 of a pound xx in ounces

A be thes notes

a corn	—	grd
a scruple	—	1
a drachem	—	3
a ounce	—	3
a pound	—	16
a quarter	—	4
a obarter	—	8
a hand full	—	12

B3 004

Recipe 64

a table consernyng y^e wyeghts & mesurs wyche physecyons do comonlye use
& the interpretation of the names of the compound medicens here contanet
with the quantyte & tyme that y^a ought to be resavyd

The last & first of all wyghts commonly used among phescyons ----- ys a
berlye corn /& xx corns makyth a scruple //iij / scruplys make a drachem
viiij / drachems makyth an ounce // xij ounces makyth a pound // a quarter
of a pound ys iij ounces

a be thes notys

a corn -----

a scruple -----

a drachem -----

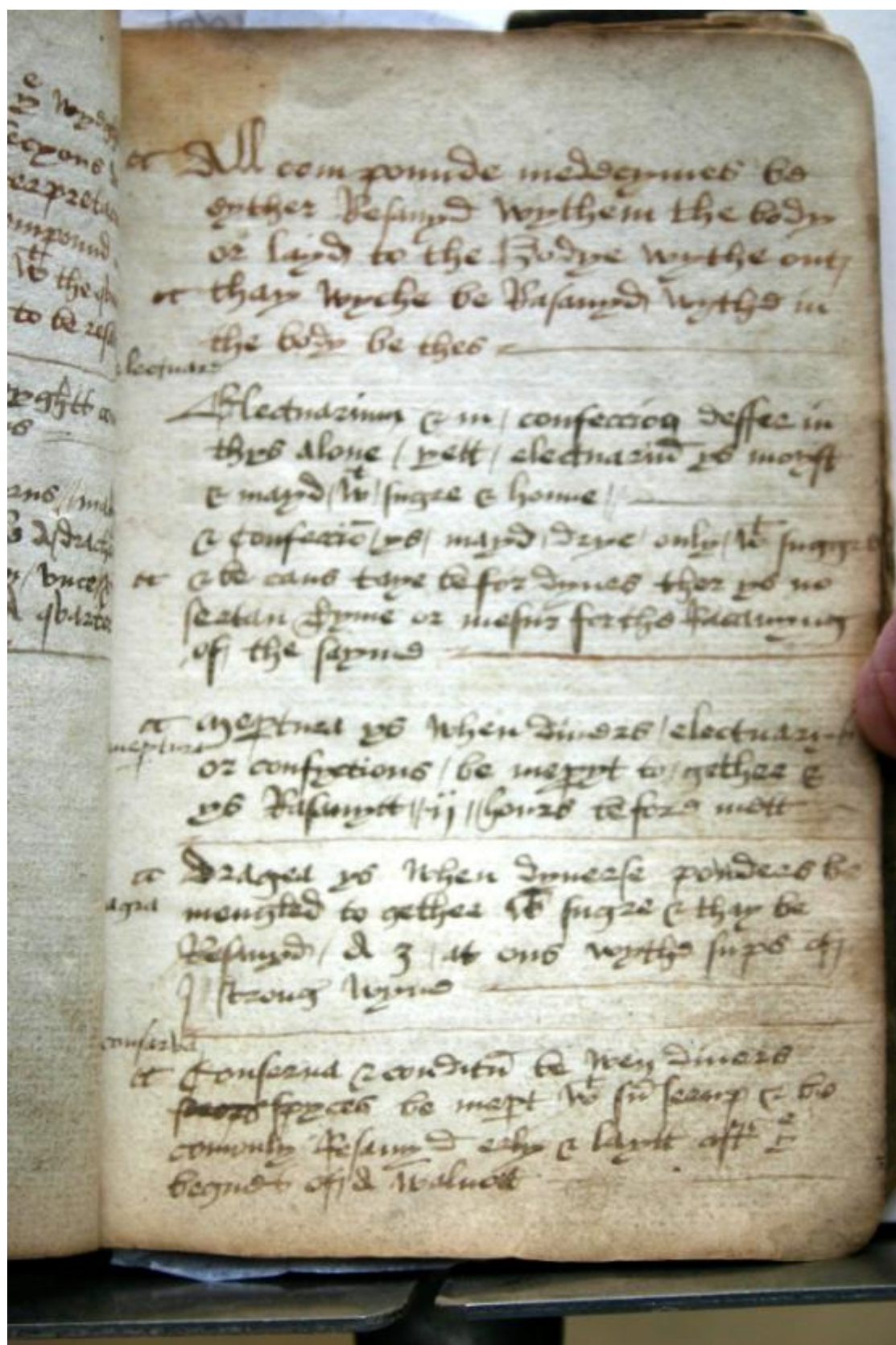
a nounce -----

a pound -----

a quarter -----

a quarter -----

a handful -----



B3 005

Recipe 65

All compounde medecynce be eyther Resanyd wythem the body or layd to the Bodye wythe out thay wyche be Resanyd wythe in the body be thes

Electuarium & confection deffer in thys alone/ yett / electurins be moyst & mayd / w^t / sugre & honne // & confections ys mayd drye / only w^t suggre & be caus taye befor dynre ther be no sertan tyme or mesur for the Recanyng of the sayme

Mextura ys when diverse electuaries or confections be mext together & be Rasanytt .ij hours before mett

Dragea ys when diverse pouders be mengled to gether with sugre & thay be resanyd / a at ons wythe sups of strong wyne

Conserva & conditn be wen divers spyces be mext w^t s^r serup & be commonly resanyd erly & laytt after the begnes of a walnott

Loche ys a medicine wiche may be leked wythe tong & may be resanyd at altymys in the quantite of a hazel nott

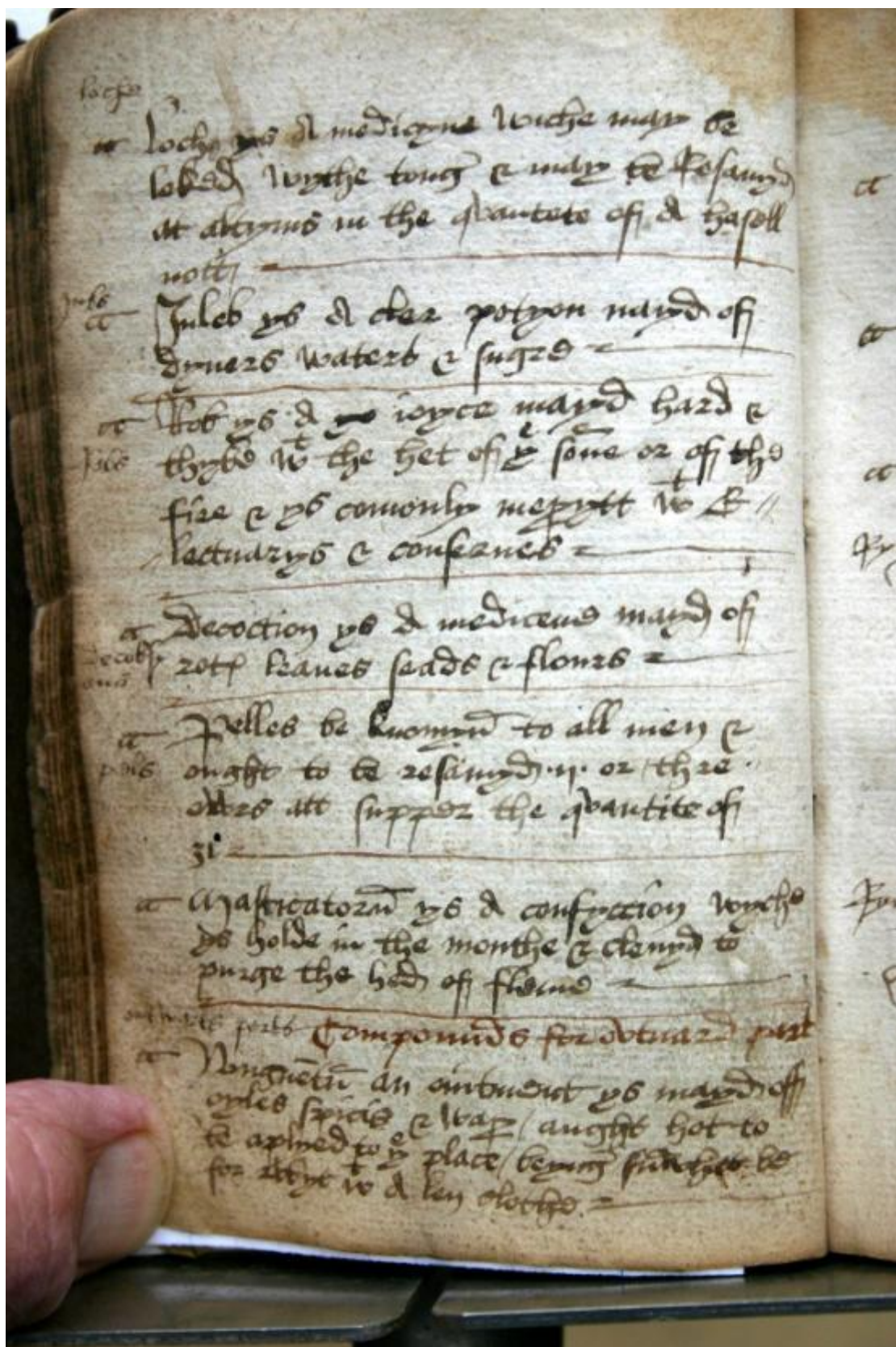
Juleb ys a cler potion mayd of divers waters & sugre

Rob ys a ioyce mayd hard & thyke w^t the het of y^e sone or of the fire & be commonly mext w^t electuaries & conserves

Decoction ys a medicine mayd of rots leaues seads & flours

Pelles be knowyn to allmen & ought to be resanyd .ij or / thre ewrs att supper the quantite of

Masticatorn ys a confection wyche be holde in the mouthe & cleuyd to purge the hed of fleme



B3 006

Recipe 66

Compounds for outward part

Unguentr an ointment ys mayd of oyles spices & wax/ aught hot to be a
plyed to ye place / being be for rubyt w^t a len clothe

Conforbatines

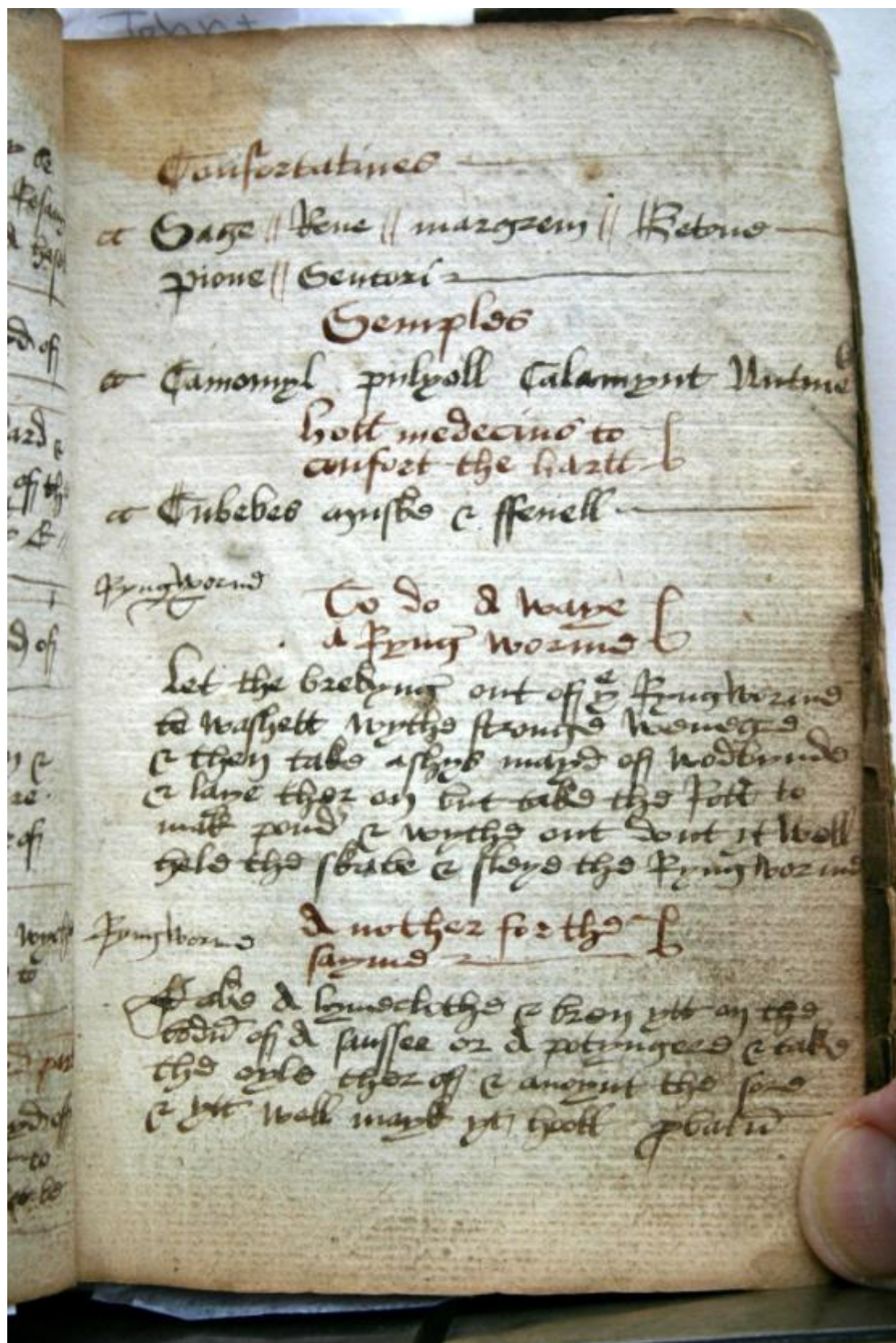
sage// Reue// margrem // Betane Pione // Sentori

Semples

Camomyl pulyoll calamynt

Hott medecins to confort the hart

Cubebes muske & ffenell



B3 007

Recipe 67
ringworme

To do awaye a Ryng worme

Let the brekyng out of y^e ryngworme be washett wythe stronge wenegre & then take ashys mayd of wodbynde & laye ther on but tak the rott to make poudr & with out dout yt well hele the skabe & sleye the ryng worm

Recipe 68
Ryngworme

a nother for the sayme

Take a lyne clothe & bren ytt on the...bodn of a sausser or a potynger & take the oyle ther of & anoynt the sore & ytt well mayke hool pba

ffor lcthyng of blood

te heyl ye wote agood zennell to
take a man / what tyme off
yea hrt ye good for to set blood
ye wote dayes ye plant for to
set blood & what mete & drink
ye good for to use & for to lcthe in
all the moneth off the yere to use
to lcthe

In the moneth off janenene
what wote ye good for to set blood
fasting & blood lcting / for ye
a son all things / on dayes that
ben faste pletens for to blood the
first / 1 / 2 / 3 / 4 / 5 / 6 / 7 / 8 / 9 / 10 / 11 / 12 /
ye pletens / ye pletens / ye pletens /
ye pletens

In the moneth off febrill use holt
ueto the potage off holt or malene
as ye may for then tyme to wote
on the god / on the wote of
wote / on the god / on the wote of
paleos dayes to blood the yere

In the moneth off marche use faste
fasting & other fast mete & drink
all the moneth in the moneth wot on
on dayes / on dayes / on dayes /
blood on & wote on & faste acme
for all mune off febrill & ye good

In the month of *April*
 use hit to lead to blood for who
 loatheth hem blood on *is - 11 - 12* daye he
 shall *is* see have no aling in hit *is* good
 & on the *11* day let blood on the
 left arme & all *is* *is* *is* he shall not loath
 his speche *is* in that mune use hit
 most *is* that *is* good
 In the month of *may*
 arise *is* *is* *is* etc hote most
 drink the *is* water the sole *is*
 be use of no maner of *is* *is* *is*
 be *is* to let blood that *is* *is* *is*
is *is* *is* *is* *is* *is* *is* *is* *is*
 on the *is* *is* *is* *is* *is* *is* *is* *is* *is*
 mane on *is* *is* *is* *is* *is* *is* *is* *is* *is*
is *is* *is* *is* *is* *is* *is* *is* *is*
 of *is* *is* *is* *is* *is* *is* *is* *is* *is*
 In the month of *June*
is *is* *is* *is* *is* *is* *is* *is* *is*
 and draught of *is* *is* *is* *is* *is* *is*
 the mote in *is* *is* *is* *is* *is* *is* *is* *is*
is *is* *is* *is* *is* *is* *is* *is* *is*
is *is* *is* *is* *is* *is* *is* *is* *is*
 In the month of *July*
is *is* *is* *is* *is* *is* *is* *is* *is*
is *is* *is* *is* *is* *is* *is* *is* *is*
is *is* *is* *is* *is* *is* *is* *is* *is*

Recipe 69

ffor lettyng of blode

..... Her... ys we a gud reuyll to teche a man / what tyme of y^e yer hyt ys
gud for to let blode what dayes be pilus for to let blode & wett mets
& drinks be gud for to use & for to leve in all the mons of the yere & to
use & to leve

In the maenyng of Januireue

Whyt wyne ys holsum for to drynke fasting & blode letting // for bere apon
althyngs – vij days that ben ryght parlous for to blede the fyrst / ye / ij / ye /
ijj / ye – iijj – ye – vj ye x yet – xv & ye xix & malleus et yeue nott

In the monthe of feuyll use hott mets but potage of hockx or malous ete you
non for then thaye be wene on the hed on the w uayne on yet wome let the
blode ther ys ij parolos days to blede the – vj & ye vij

In the monthe of marche //

Uyse fyggs & rasuns & other suet metys & drynks Lett no blode in that
month but on oon daye y^{at} ys y^e vvij daye & y^{en} blede on ye vayne on y^e ryght
arme for all maner of fevers yt ys gud

In the monthe of Aperell

Hyt ys goad to blede for who so lettyth hem blode on y^e – iij dj – daye he
shall y^{at} yer heue no akyng in hys hede & on the – xj – day let blode on the
left arm & all y^{at} yere he shall not loos hys syeght // & in that mounse use hot
mets & that ys gud

In the month of maye

Aryse eirly & erly ete hott mets & drynks / the / hed / nather the fete ette ye
non of no maner of bestys iijj days be pleus to let blode that ys ye vij xv ye
xvj & ye – xx but lett the blode on the v or on iijj & in the end of maye on
whether arme thue welt & ytt well defend the for all maner of dysses

In the monthe of June

Yf y^{ou} be an oulde man or lyke drynk agud draught of wat^r fastyng & eytt the
mete in mesur -- & / et – sage & lettuse except yt be for gret nede bled nott
& on the -- vij daye yt ys perlous

For the monthe of July

Bled not at all – ij days y^{at} ys vere parolos to bled y^e xv & xix & in that tyme
yt ys gud to kep hem from woman for then the bran gatheryth hys hemmers

In the monthe of auguste

in thys tyme worts or hoks or malos ys not gud for of hott mets &
drynks use thoue none ij parlous days ther ys to let blode that ys the xix

& the xx

In the monthe of September

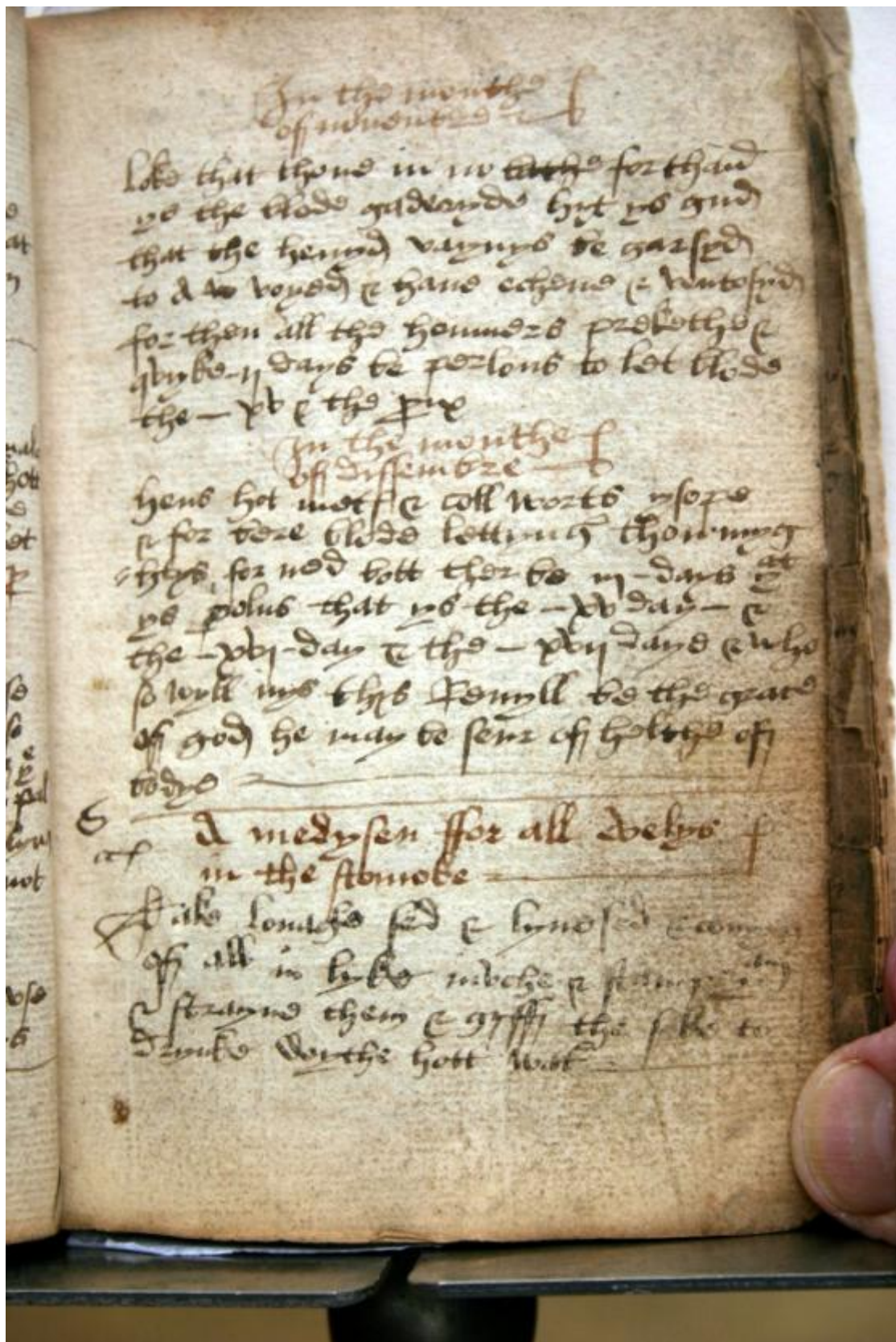
All frut that rype ys gud to use & blede yt ys gud to let for whoso lettythe
heme blode xvij days of ye dropsye nor of y^e franse nor of the palsye nor of ye
goutt nor of the fallyng evyll for all that yere he shall not doute

In the monthe of octobere

In that mvnthe wine ys gud to use & for nede to let blode on day ys polus &
that ys the – xv daye

In the monthe of novembre

Loke that theme in no bathe for than ys the blode gaderyde hyt ys gud that
the heuyd vaynes be garsyde to a voyed & have echeve & ventosyd for then
all the hemmers prekethe & quyke – ij days be perlous to let blode the – xv &
the xix



B4 001

Recipe 69

In the monthe of disembre

heus hot mets & coll worts ysop & for bere blode lettyng thou myghtys for
ned bott ther be iij – days that be polus that y^s the – xv day & the xvi daye &
the xvii daye & who so wyll uys thys reuyll be grace of god he may be seur of
helthe of bodye

B4 001

Recipe 70

A medysen ffor all evelys in the stomoke

Take lovage sed & lynsed & comyn of all in lyke muche & stamp y^{am} & strayne them & gyffe the seke to drynke wythe hott watr

The matter of man's body
 is the humors which be in
 nature & have thays be
 damaged

The body of man is
 compact of foure humors that is to
 say blood phlegm color & melancholic
 which humors are called the sons of
 the elements be cause they be copious
 as in the iii planets for blood is
 the sunne is hot & moist so is the
 body hot & moist & as fire is hot
 & drye so is color hot & drye &
 as water is cold & moist so is phlegm
 cold & moist & as the earth is
 cold & drye so is melancholic cold
 & drye // where by it is pertye
 that they be in copious // where
 of in ten simple is to witte // hot
 // cold // moist // drye & in copious
 compound that is hot & moist which
 is a copious // of the air // of blood
 hot & drye // which is the copious
 // of the fire // of color // cold &
 moist which is the copious of
 // water // of phlegm // cold & drye

B4 002

Recipe 71

The natur of mans bode & The humers wiche be in natur & haue thaye be devydyd

The bodye of man ys compact of foure hemmors that ys to say blode pleme color & malyncolye wiche hummers ar callyd sons of the Elements be caus tha be complexion ys lyke the iiij planets for lyke as the // ayre ys hot & moyste // so be the body hote & moyst / as fyer ys hot & drye // so ys colore hot & drie & // as wat^r be coulde & moyst // so ys fleme coulde & moyst // & as the erthe ys coulde & dry // so be mallancolye could & drye // wher by yt aperythe yat ther be nyne complexions // wher of iiij ben semple yt ys to wete // hote// coulde// moyst // & dry & iiij complexions compounde that ys hot & moyst wych ys the complexion // of the ayre / & of blode hote & drye/ wyche be the complexion // of the fyer / & of colore // coulde & moyst wiche ys the complexione of ye water/ & of fleme // & coulde & drye ys the complexion of the herthe & of mallancloye // The nynth complexion ys temporat // nether hot nor coulde nor to moyste// nor to drye / wyche yett ys a thyng verye selden sene among men aft^r the phesicion the sayd iiij hemmers gouernyth & reull euery on in hys planet & inducinen to be of the of the complexion foloying

the coplesions / of the body is of
 mallice // The murther coplesion
 is temperat // neither hot nor cold
 nor to murther // nor to drive / nor to
 do a thing / nor seldom / some among
 men / all the physicians the sayd my
 hemmors / gonewyth / & shall end one
 in the place / & induceth to be off the
 coplesions folowing -

The coplesion of
 the fleat / is
 well fixt / & est part
 plene encleneth a man to be dull of
 understanding full of / & full of color -

The coplesion of the Camryne // full
 of fleshe // libral // amiable // Blood can
 with one to be murtherer / & more
 tolde lecherous of red colour -

The coplesion of colorado // hasty / &
 colorado
 color causeth a man to be crabbed
 a lecher / & full of / & off / &
 colour -

The coppression of the malancolike
 Coloure // fast // spacynd // fearfull
 // theme // thyrill // fubryne // cōfytus
 // Blab of colours coulours

These be the four humours wher of
 the bodye are compounded & encreas
 one of them hath a speciall dominion
 in respect of all the other according
 to the age // that is to say from
 a mans naturall tell he com to yeth
 reas // the blade hath the most power
 & from that time to the reade
 of the age - yeth & yeth // the
 choler for then cummeth heeth in
 to the varus & the choler begyn
 neth to arise & be strong
 Then cometh mōdeleag & the humours
 geth forth // malancolike in humours
 could & dyes // & hath the mōde
 rance till fiftie yers or there about
 At which time all the humours
 of the bodye be groweth to dimens
 & the naturall heeth in hētel & heeth
 in the about // & then
 & then succeedeth old age outo
 deth in the wiche age pleguies
 hath the principall four & domon
 ion

B4 003

Recipe 72
fleatyke

The complexscon of the flematyke

Well furmyt ye est part

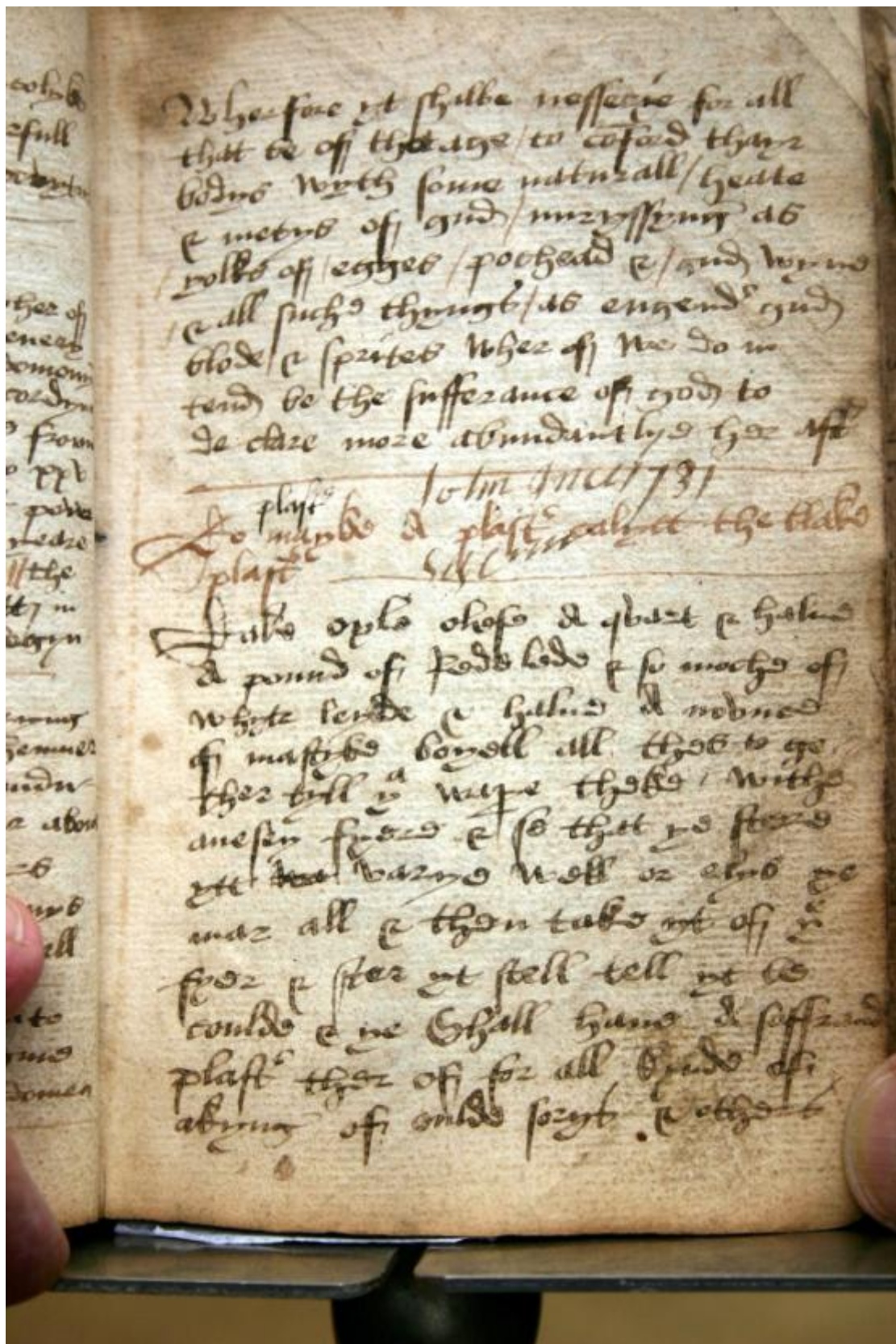
Pleme enclyneth a man to be dull of understanding full of
spettle full of coler

sang guane The complexion of the sanguyne // full of flyshe // librall //
 amyable / blode causydh one to be curtes & mere bolde
lecherus of red coloure

coler ek The complexion of the coloryke // hasty invyus covytus coler
 causeth a man to be creuell a watchar pdygall lene & of
yalowe couloure

malan colye The complexion of the melancolyke / solitary // soft // sprakyd
 // fearfull // heuye // curyous // envyus covytus // Blake of
coloure

Thes be the foure hemmers wher of the bodys are compoundyd & every one
of them hath a speciall domonyon in respect of all the other acording to the
age // that ys to Saye from a mans naturall tell he come to xxv yers // the
blode haythe most power & from that tyme to the year of hys age xxxv
ragneth // the choler / for then cometh hete to the vaynes & the choler
begynyth to ryse & be strong ---
Then comyth myddelage / & bryngeth forthe // melancolye an hemmer
coulede & drye // & hayth hys indurance tyll // fyfte yers or ther about ay
wiche tyme all the humers of the bode begenyth to dimenys & the naturall
hett by lytel & lytell duthe abayte
& then succedyth oldage onto deth in the wiche age phlegm hayth the
prencipall poure & domenyon
wherfore yt shalbe nesserye for all that be of that age to comfort thayr bodys
wyth some naturall // heate & metys of gud / nuryssyng as yolke of / egges
/ poched & / gud wyne / & all suche thyngs /as engender gud blode / &
sprites wherof we do intend be the suffrance of god to declare more
abundantly herafter



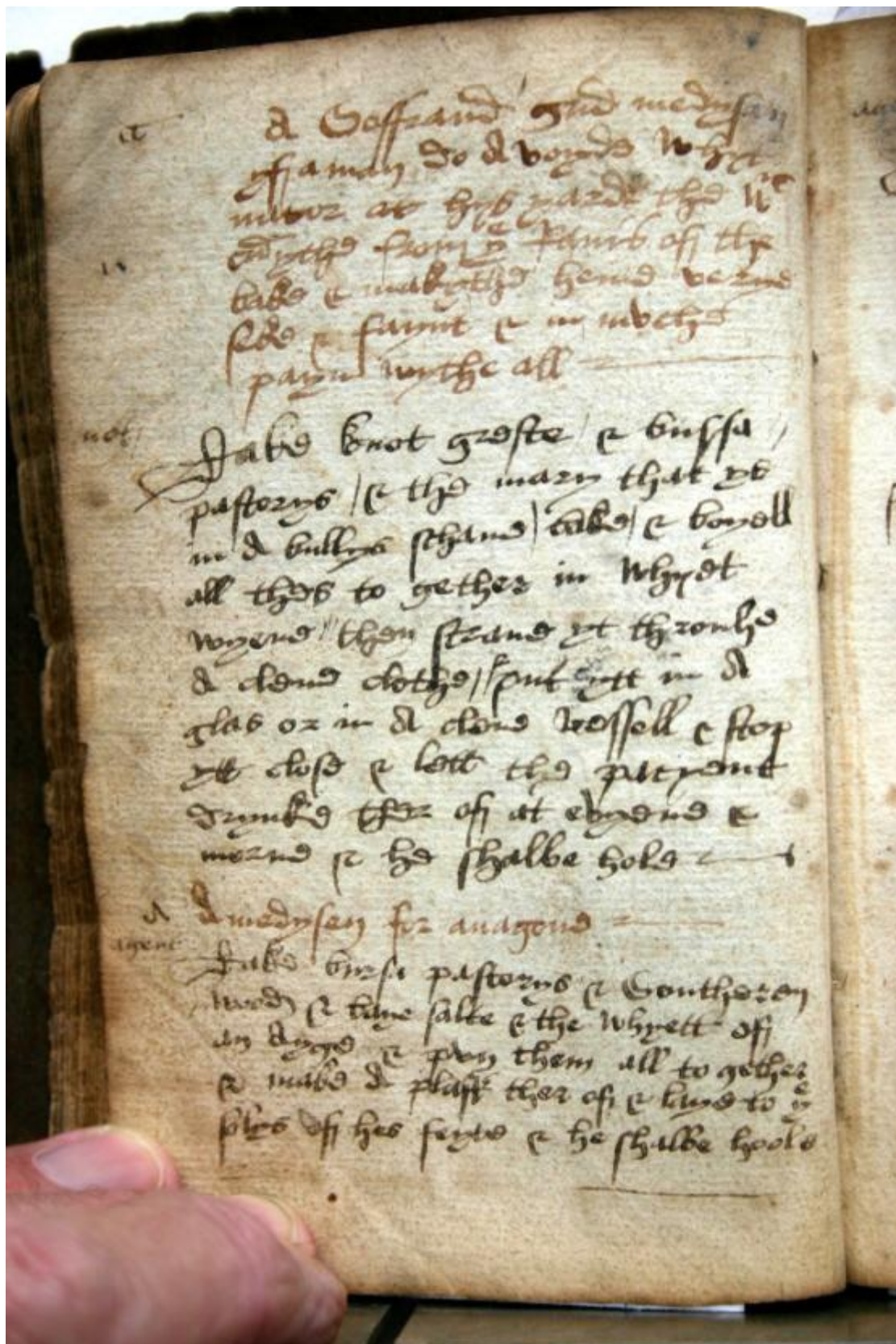
B4 005

Recipe 73
plastr

John Ince 1731

To mayke a plast^r elytt the blake plast ^r

Take oyle olefe a quart & halve a pound of rede lede & so moche of whyte leyde & halve a nounce of mastyke boyell all thes together tyll y^e wax theke / with an esey fyer & se that ye stere ytt varye well or elys ye mar all & then take yt of ye fyer & steryt stell tell yt be coulde and ye shall have a soffrand plastr ther of for all kynde of akyng of oulde sorys & others



B4 006

Recipe 74

hot

a Soffrand gud medysan yf a man do a voyde whyt natur at hys
yarde ther with comyth from ye Ranis of the bake & makyth
the heme verye seke & faynt & in muche payne
wythe all

not

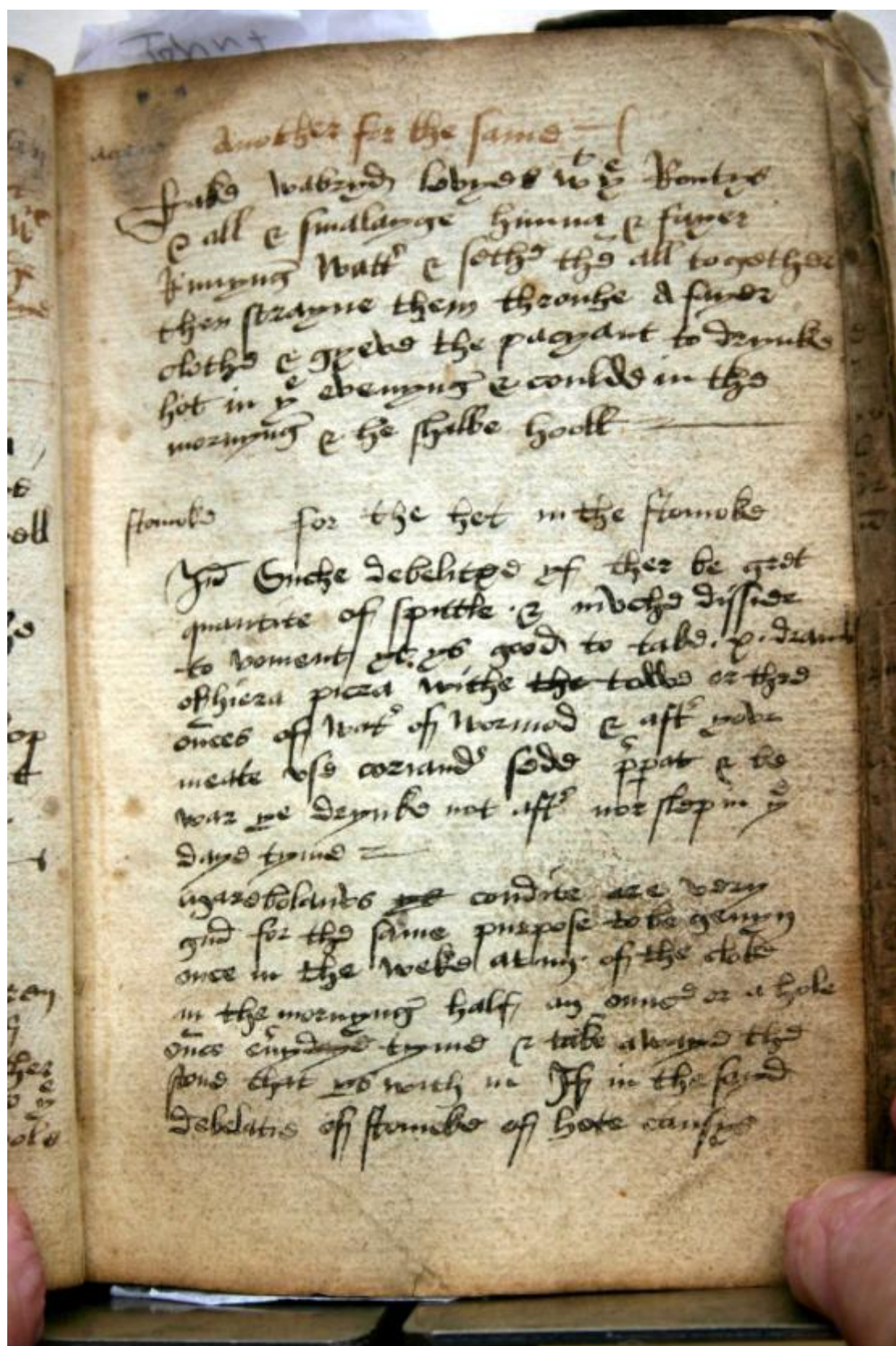
Take knot greste/bussa pastorys/& the mary that ys in a bullys schane /
bake / & boyell all thes to gether in whyet wyene then strane yt throuhe
a clene clothe / put ytt in a glas or in a clene vessell & stop ytt close &
lett the pacyent drynke ther of at evyene & morne & he shalbe hole

Recipe 75

agueu

A medysen for a agoue

Take bursa pastorys & southeren wode & baye salt & the whyett of an ayge &
pun them all together & make a plast^r ther of and laye to the solys of hes feyte
& he shalbe hoole



After be not abundant of spiritale
 but times of murther venge thurst
 & vomeyng & sturbing & femyng
 yt ys good to take scoops of sacrell
 or of fesse or scoops of quens ys
 in dms succora wat or wat pddyn
 & couled agane & then drynke here
 proza as ife ys fardo or take a
 purgacion as ys declared for the
 hede paine that comys off colere
 That ys to be notyd that for such
 debelite off the stomacke ye may not
 use any cerote plast nor bage
 nother in ys hot medesent &
 lest ye shulde shoulde augment &
 cause
 but yt ys good to anoynt &
 stomaque wth the conde oyle as & oyle
 of fesse & quens & if ye well fane
 a plast make yt of rede fesse &
 fardis
 for the allayning of murther

B4 007

Recipe 76
ageue

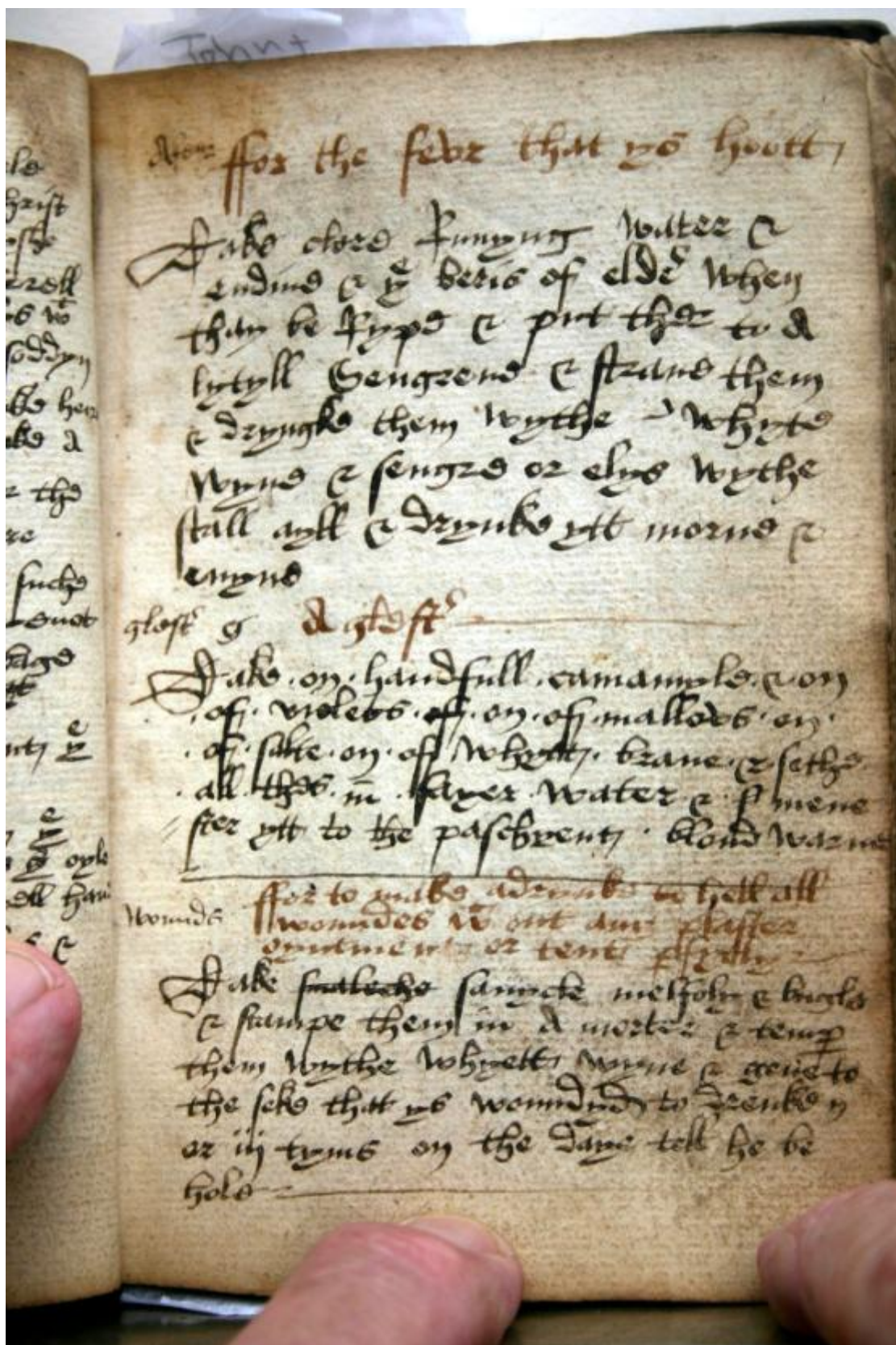
Another for the same

take wabryd levys w^t y^e Routys & all & smalayge hunne & fayer runyng wattr & sethe them throuhe a fayre clothe & gyeve the pacyant to drinke hot in ye evnyng & coulde in the mornyng & he shalbe hoole

Recipe 77
stomake

for the het in the stomoke

In suche debelitye yf ther be gret quantite of spittle & muche dissier to voment y^e ys gud to take .x. drams of hiera picra with towe or thre onces of wat^r of wormwod & after your meats use coriandr^r sede ppat & bewar ye drynke not aft^r nor slepe in y^e daye tyme —marebolanus condite are very gud for the same purpose to be gevyn once in the weke at iiij of the cloke in the mornyng half an ounce or a hole once evytyme & take away the stone that is within If in the sayd debelatie of stomake of hote causes ther be not abundance of spittele but drines of mouthe wythe thirst & vomentyng stynkyng & femyshe yt ys gud serope of sorrell or of rossys or serope of quansys with due succora wat^r or wat^r soddyn & coulyd agane // & then drynke heira picra as a for ys sayd or take a purgacion that cmys of colore that ys to be notytt that for suche debelite of the stomoke ye maye not euse anie cerosse plast^r nor bage where in ys hot medesens leste ye schulde schoulde augment ye cause but yt ys gud to anoyent ye stomake wythe coulde oyle as ye oyle of rosis & quansys & if ye well have a plast^r make yt of red rosys & sanders



B4 009

Recipe 78
a feur

ffor the fevr that ys hoott

Take clere runyngge wat^r & endive & y^e beris of elde^r when thay be Rype & put ther to a lytyll Sengrene & strane them & drynke them wythe whyte wyne & seugre or elys wyth stall all & drynke ytt morne & evyne

Recipe 79
glestr

a glestr

Take . on. handfull camamyle & on of violets . on. Of mallous . on . of . salte . on . of whytt brane . & sethe all thes in fayer wat^r & menesteryt to the paschyent . bloud warme

Recipe 80
wounds

*ffor to mayke a drynke to hell all
wounds with out any plaster oyntment or tent pfytly*

Take sanycle melfoly & bugle & stampe them in a mortar & temp them wythe whyett wyne & geue to the seke that ys wounded to drenk ij or iij tyme on the daye tell he be hole

148^{to} 6 To make a plaster
 to be on the wall

Take a pint of oyle of luffe & the
 small fennel of the wall & cut
 the fennel into small & put hem
 in to the oyle & boll them
 together they put in ^{as} to oyle
 of luffe & so muche whet
 camfer camfer - mydd for 2nd
 mydd & ster them well about
 whet it was blake they lay
 a lutele to a place & pay a
 boide & let hem coull & so re
 shall know when it is hot
 they take hem off the fire &
 ster hem well & will be cold
 then put hem in a bag &
 when ye hand nedo a trye it

for fennel for fennel & damme take starks
 for fennel to be washing
 to fennel & for fennel in
 noke

This was crossed camfer of

B4 010

Recipe 81
plastos

To mayke a plastr to hele oulde soors

Take a pynt of oyle oleff & the small feyrne of the wall & cut the fyerne varye small & put hem into the oyle & boyell them together then put in y^{ar} to on - jdi rede lede & so moche whyett lede camfeur – iiij dj borrys iiij dj & ster theme well about whell yt wax blake then laye a lytell w^t a sklyce apon a borde & lat hen coull & so ye shall know when yt ys wel then take hem of the fyer & ster hem well untell he be cold then put hem in a box & when ye have nede occupy yt

Recipe 82
for ferment hot

ffor synews drawyn bake stark or knottyng to or waxing to
short & for boulyng in ye neke

Take wat^r cresses camemyll of yche an handfull & grende them small & frye them wyth whetmeyll & honye like a poultras & so hot as ye may suffer lay yt to a pon a leyn clothe on the soor plays // & change ytt twys on the day // with thes plastr have I done marvelouslye in suche causes

[illegible]

+ polteas

B5 001

Recipe 83

A medycyne for ye hot agoue w^t out any shakyng

Take a quart of mylke & the whyts of iij eggs & put in y^e same mylke then take a quart of ale & set yt upon y^e fyere to yt sethe then skim yt clene then take ij handfull of sorrell & dandelyon & bett yt in a vessell & strane yt in to the ale playing opon the fyere // then put in the mylke & yt welbe a possett then put all the holl substans in to a straner & that y^{at} goyeth throue y^e stran^r of the onyn voluntary well saue ytt & geue yt to y^e pachynt to drynke & he shalbe hooll be godys grace // pbatn

Recipe 84

ffor the quence

Take crums of soure browne brede y^e poud^r of clovs a quantete of Red rosys drye & boyell them in mylke tyll ytt be thyke & then make a plastr a pon a fayer clene cloth & laye it to the soore so hoot as ye may suffer yt // & do yt ij or iij tymes tyll yt be vanyshed away

They make a plaste a poe a poe
 clove cloth & laye it to the face
 host of ye mite suffer it // p do
 or in tene till it be dampstet
 for a agene hote or colde
 agene *makinge in tene or in othe*
dyne a poe medefey
 Take halfe a pinte of gude all & put
 it to a sponfull of *heracle off gude*
 & medell to the to gether & then
 straine it throu a clothe // Then
 take xxx peccornis bat them smale
 to fyne poud & put that poud to
 a pte & ster it well & warm it &
 drinke it off when the fet endy &
 walkes a littell aft & then lye
 down a poe a day & a cowe
 was ind & do this in tene
 it well lene yow
 for a plaster for *troubling*
 Take cofene poud & dafes of othe
 halfe a pinte
 of yche ij vnd *anammill melolet*
 and floure in vnt *superon halfe a dr*
 vnt *scotch flour* 1 vnt & halfe

B5 002

Recipe 85

*ffor the ageue hote or colde takyng evry day or evry other daye
a suer medesen*

ageue

Take halfe a pynt of gud all & put y^{ur} to a sponfull of tryacle of jam & meldell bothe to gether & then strayne yt thoue a clothe //then take – xxx pepcorns bet them small to fyne poudr & put that poud to ye ayll & ster yt well & warm yt & drynke y^{ur} of when the fet & walke a lyttel after & then lye ye doune a pon a beyd & cowr yow warme & do thys iij tymes & yt well leve youe

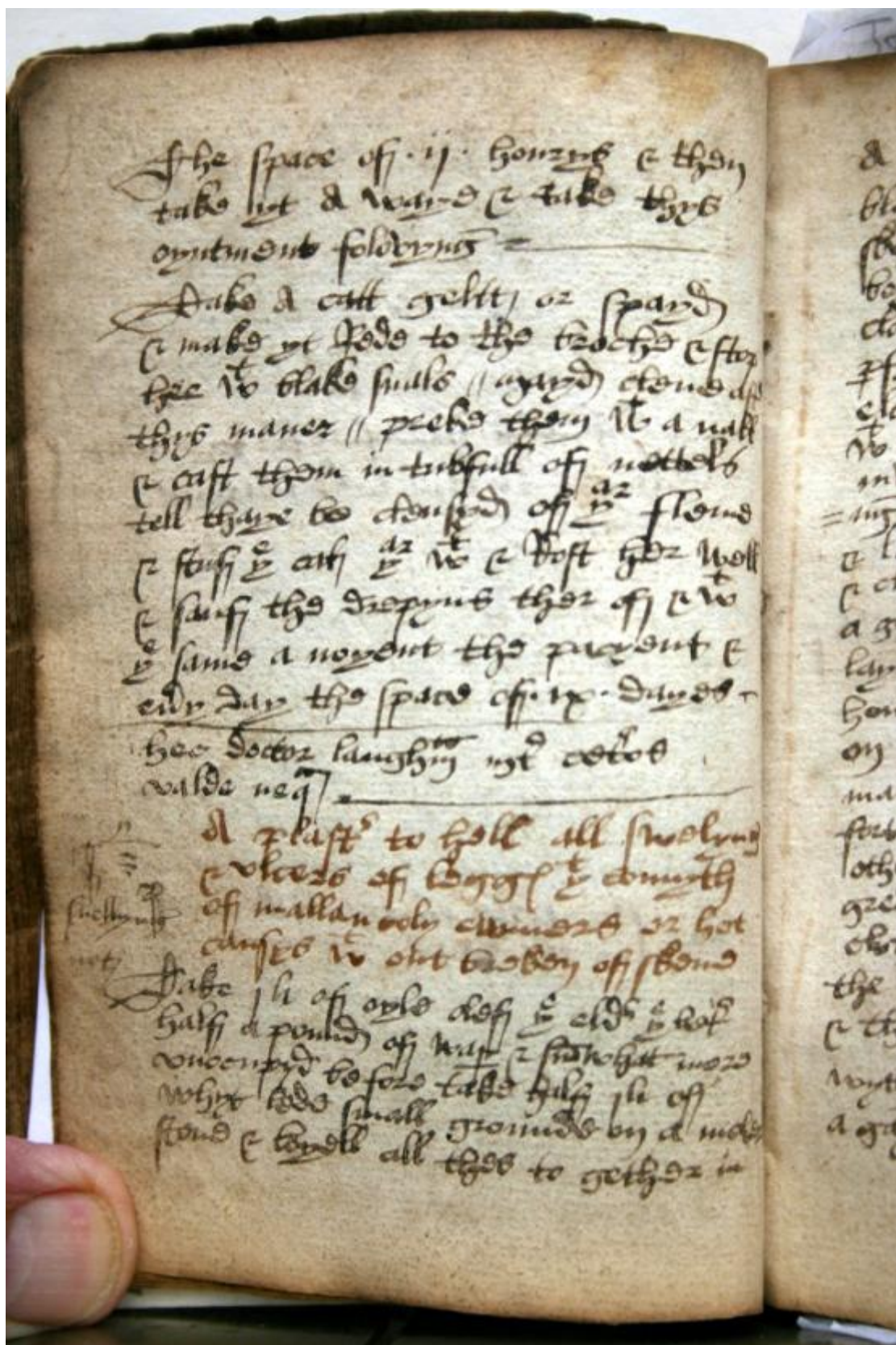
Recipe 86

brozor

A plaster for brousyng

Take cofraye rotys & dasyes of eche half a pound canamyll melilot of yche ij vnce saforon half a dram bene floure iiij vnce fryche butr v ounce uenekreke flours j ounce & half wormeod & cumyng sede of yche an ounce sethe your rotys in water tell thaye be soft then pound them small & wt your stouf incorporad make a plast^r ther of & laye yt to y^e sore forthe wythe

Moored & curing sede off yche
 an vnd Geths yodz fobys in
 water tell thayd be soft then poby
 them small & w yodz stouf in corpora
 make a platt ther off & laye yt to
 for forths wyth
 A suffund medesay for the gont
 taught to the lord marcus
 wfor
 Take puffed . y. li stone puche . y. qrt
 ofon . dli. clous . y. qrt mact . y. qrt
 sifozone . y. y. pome wyght & tait
 all thes to gether in fyne pome
 seche in fyne then take y. li off
 Egen way & dli of derofenst & put
 all thes to gether & make a platt
 off & laye yt to yodz gaff
 for ache in the bube or
 in the hepe
 Take a pomeys mayd off vey vey
 of voss & croton bredd & totom off
 a luffe soft & drons & laye yt steepe
 in the said veyng the spiec off a qrt
 off a nobere & then take & wrappe
 in a lomet cloth & laye yt to the for



B5 003

Recipe 87
gout

a soffrand medesen for the gout
taught to the lord marcus dorset

Take peeste . ij . l . stone pyche . j . qrt rosen . djl . cloves . j qrt macs . j . qrt
safferone . xij . penywyeght & beyt all thes together in fyne poud^r serche y^{an}
fyen then take ij l of vgen wax & dj l of deresenet & put all thes to gether &
mayke a plastr of & laye ytt to your gref

Recipe 88
ache

for ache in the bake or in the hepe

Take a poultas mayd of veng of rossys & browne brede y^e botom of a loffe
rostyd brone & let yt stepe in the sayd veng the space of a qrt of a novere &
then tak & wrapyt in a lenet clothe & lay yt to the sore the space of ij hourys
& then take yt a waye & take this oyntment folowyng
Take a catt gelt or spayd & make yt rede to the broche & stop her w^t blake
snals // mayd clene after this maner // preke them w a nall & cast them in a
tubfull of nettels tell thaye be clensed of y^{ar} fleme & stuf ye cat y^{ar} with &
rost her well & sauf the drepyns ther of & with ye same a noyent the pacyent
& evry day the space of ix dayes hec doctor laughm mt cetos valde neq

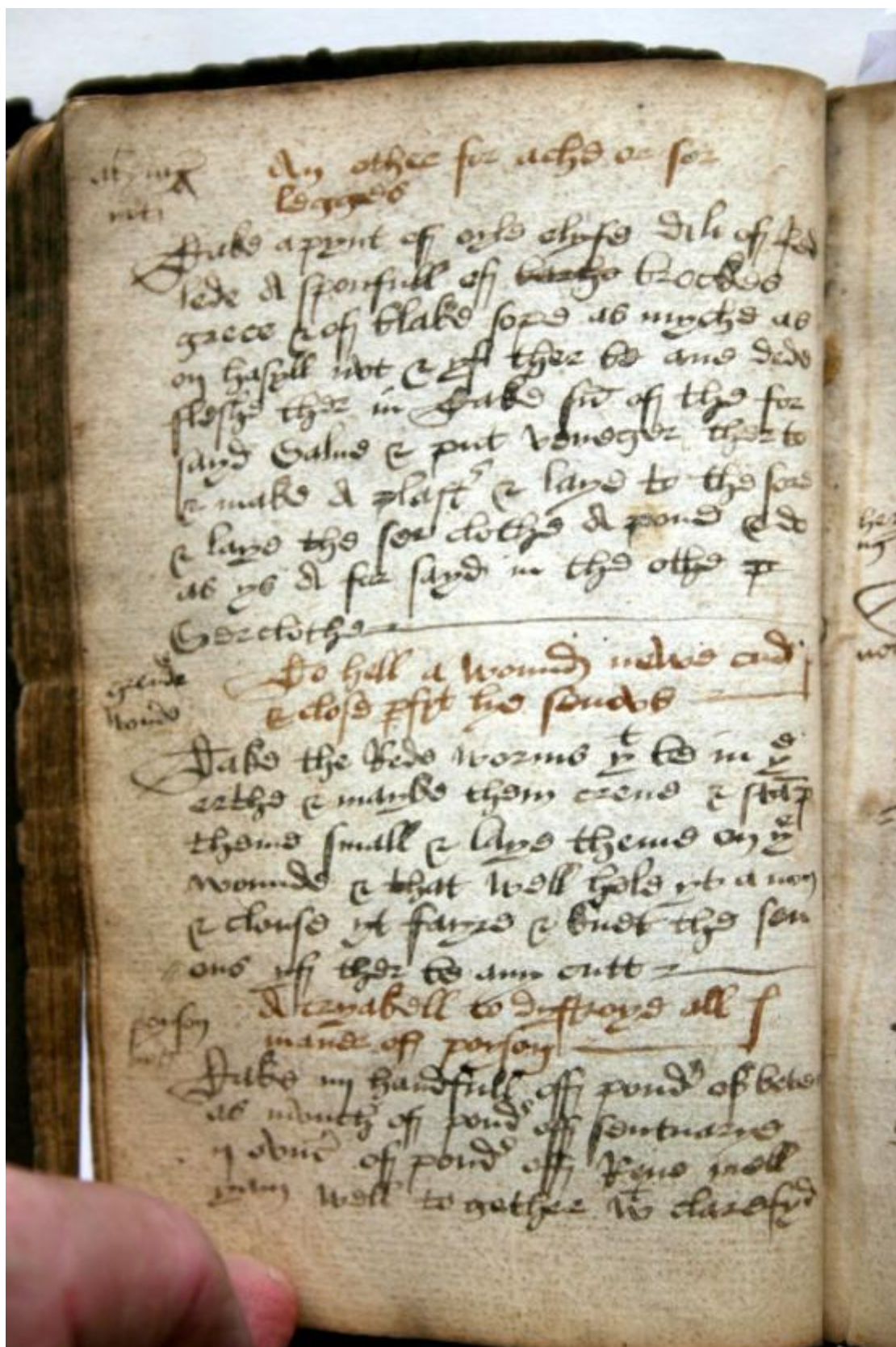
B5 004

Recipe 89
Swellyng hott

a plast^r to hell all swellyng & ulcers of leggs y^t comyth of
mallanancoly ewmers or het causys w^t out breken of skene

Take jli of oyle olef y^e eldr y^e bet^r half a pound of wax & smwhat more
vnocupyd befor take half jl of whyt lede small grounde on a mortar stone &
boyell all thes together in a pan on a soft fyere tyll yt be as blake as pyche &
.... ster yt with a brad sklye of wode to knoue whan yt ys boylde ynought
take a pece of lenet clothe & dep into the plast^r & yff yt be pfytt blake yt ys
boyle enoughe or els not & yf ye well ocupye yt forthwyth dype a lennyng
clothe in yt as muche as well go about the sore & swellyng of the same & laye
yt on & let yt ly xij dayes then take yt of & clense yt w^t a lene clothe & hott
yt agayne the fyer well yt smoke & y^m laye yt a brode & stryke yt w^t your
hand & make yt smothe & laye ytt on a gayne on the other syde & after ye
maner conteneue w^t on plaster ye space of fortnyght after ye on syde & then
the other & after that mayke the holl ingredence hot agayne & deppe on the
pone tell yt well drope no more & then laye yt abrode & smouthe yt wyth
your hand & yf ned be laye yt on a gayne to the soore

a pay in a soft fyre till it be as
 blake as p^rys & en fleyt it to a trad
 p^rys of wode to broune whayn it ys
 broune ymought take a p^rys of lomet
 clothe & d^rop in to the plaste & aff it to
 p^rys thake it ys toylet enought or
 els not & aff ys well occupyd it forth
 to d^rys a brouning clothe in it as
 in b^rys as well go a tent & f^rys & snell
 =ing off the same & laye it on a l^ret
 & l^ret it in y^e dayes then take it off
 & chuse it to a l^ret clothe & b^rys
 a gaine the f^rys well it sm^rth & f^rys
 laye it a b^rys & fleyt it to y^eoder
 hand & make it sm^rth & laye it
 on a gaine on the other f^rys & aff it
 maner c^renons to on plaste & f^rys of
 f^rysight affe & on f^rys & then the
 lothes & aff that make the h^roll in
 gredence got a gaine & d^rys an^rther
 clothe or th^rayn & l^ret it d^rys on
 the pond tell it well d^rys no more
 & then laye it a b^rys & sm^rth it
 with y^eoder hand & f^rys laye it on
 a gaine to the f^rys



B5 006

Recipe 90

An other for ache or for legges

Take a pynt of oyle olyfe dylj of red lede a sponfull of brockes grece & of blake sope as mych as on hasyll not & yf ther be ane dede fleshe ther in take some of the sayd salve & put venegar ther to & make a plast^r & laye to the sore & laye the ser clothe a pone and do as ys a for sayd in the other serclothe

Recipe 91
grene wound

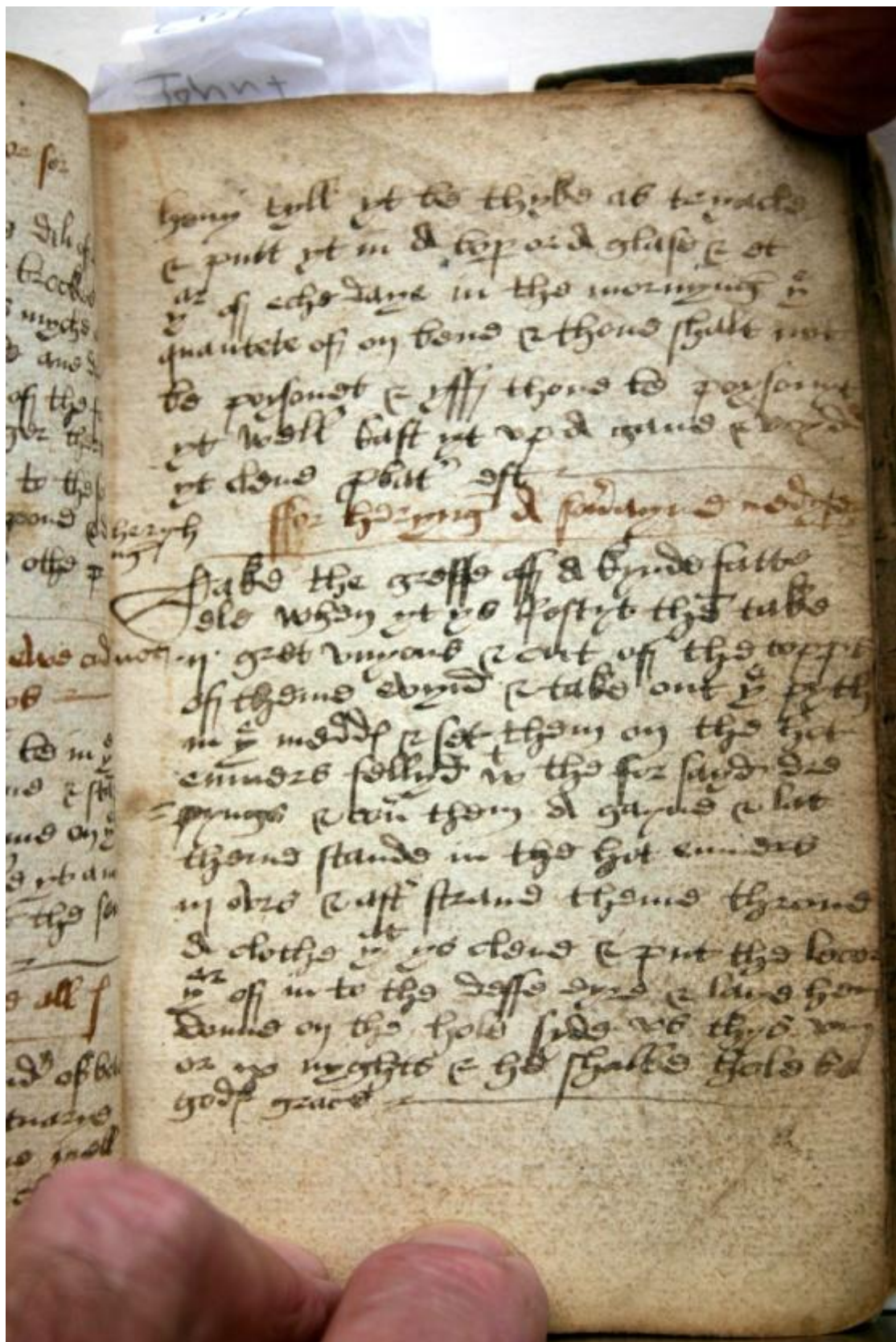
To hell a wound newe cut & close pft lye senews

Take the rede worms y^r be in y^e erthe & mayke them clrene & stamp theme small & laye theme on y^e wounde & that well hele y^t anon & clouse y^t fayre & knet the senous yf ther be any cutt

Recipe 92
poyson

a tryakell o dystroye all maner of poyson

Take iiij handfull of poud^r of beten as mouch of poud^r of sentuare ij ounce of poud^r of reue mell yam well together w^t clarefyd hony tyll y^t be thyke as tryacle & put y^t in a box or a glase & et y^{ar} of eche daye in the mornyng y^e quantete of on bene & thoue shale not be poysonet & yff thoue be poysonyt y^t well kast y^t up agane & voyde y^t clene --pbatn est



B5 007

Recipe 93
heryng

ffor heryng a sourayne medysen

Take the gresse off a kynde fatt ele when yt ys festyt then take - ij gret unyons
& cut of the topps of theme evyn & take out the pythe in y^e meddl & set
them on the hot ciners fellyd w^t the for sayd drepyns & covr them agayne &
lat theme stande in the hot cinders iij ours & after strane theme throue a
clothe y^{at} ys clene & put the lecor y^{ar} of into the deffe eyre & laye hem down
on the hole syde vs thys viij or ix nyghts & he shalbe hole be gods grace

for forming or building
and masonry

Take a pint of good mowe water
a pint of cleare water a hole
thrus well to gether in a sprayell
tell yt loud buzding & that yt
way thes day I maynt the fox
the w^t a cleare sother & laye the
on a cleare lene clothe & tub yt
newd awaye for the space of 10
dayes & yt wolke sell off the
moderay forso go not for yt ha
the vend oft proved

[illegible]

And the Queer of manhood & of
wilde taffets & the whitt of y^e
of rage like indolence & bare them
will to golthe to let be all g^one
they amount thin dyes at m^ond
& obay ————

B5 008

Recipe 94
skaldyng

ffor Brenyng or skaldyng a gud medesen

take a pint of gud mete oyle & a pynt of clene water & bete theme well together w^t a spoon tell yt leue burblyng & that yt wax theke then anoynt the sore there with a clene fether & lay ther on a clene lene clothe & tak yt nev^r away for the space of ix days & yt wel be holl of thys medesen fere ye not for yt haythe bene proved

Recipe 95
ene

A gud medysene for ene

Take sentorye & laye it clene water all a nyght & after washe wel thyne yen y^{ar} w^t a fether & yt well dystroye y^e webe or pen thouge yt be ov^r all thyne eye vyss thys vi dayes & he shalbe holl

Recipe 96
ene

ffor the webe in the eye

Take the juce of marcure & of wylde tassels & the whyt of ij eg of yche lyke muche & bete them then anoynt thy eyne at morne & evyn ----pbatn

for the gentyll & swete mede
 then ^{gent} ~~gentyll~~ ^{not} to a woman off
 beauford.
 Take the sumt off a wodez dill
 off way 1 pint on quit off a pound
 off hony. y. about off trespontyne
 & sette all thes in a grete quantite
 of the swete of bonbayne the fruit
 off a quart off on onre & then
 set itt from the fire & let it boyle
 & when yt is coole yt wolke in
 a hube & then bepe it done &
 when ye nedg it off with a pluff
 off it upon whyt lottre & laye it
 where the soe is & foulyt well
 & the shalbe esch off his payne
 shortly.
 A pounce wite for one off
 had lost thez fage & y. off
 off it to possibill he shall know
 in m. pt. 1. 1. 1.
 Take smallage & the foull reynard
 & the mowse & the tame stalmes & the
 hunds tongue & the fadad & the pynnell
 sage stoll all thes to gether in a
 hettill & bring off a may childe &
 & the of fadad & the of
 & the of fadad & the of
 & the of fadad & the of

B5 009

Recipe 97
gout

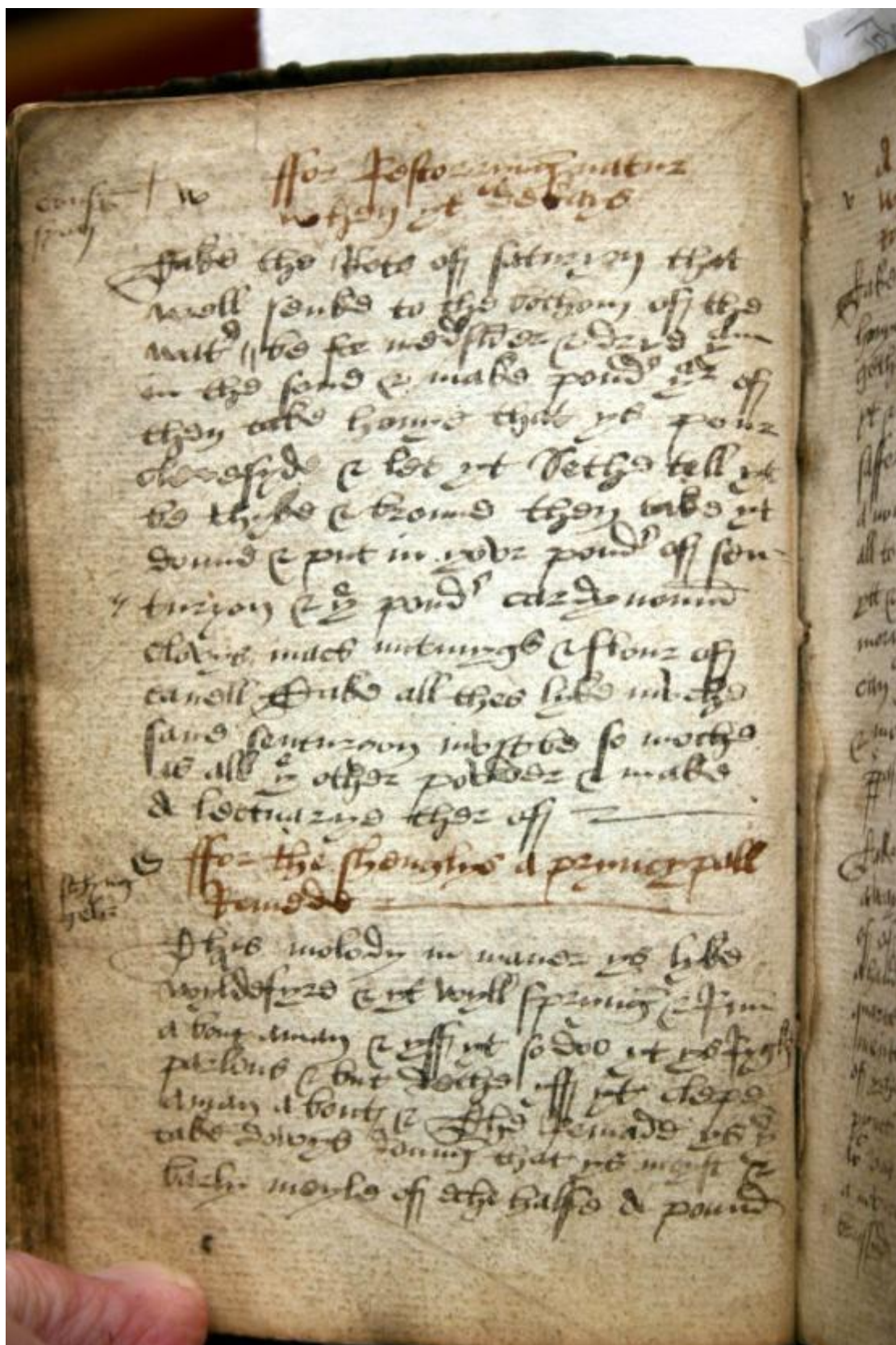
ffor the gowte a suer medyson
pvyd by a woman of branford

Take the suyt of weder djlj of wax j quarter on quarter of a pound of honey . ij ounce of turpentyne & sethe all thes in a gret quantyt of the juce of henbayne the space off a quarter of an oure & then set ytt frome the fyre & let yt koll & when yt ys coude yt welbe in a kake & then kepe yt clene & when ye nede y^{ar} of mak a plast^r of yt apon whyt lether & laye yt where the sor ye & roulyt well & he shallbe esyd of hys payne shortlye

Recipe 98

a precious wat^r for eyne yff y^a had lost ther syght . x yers yff yt ene
be possebell he shall recover w^t in x^t days

Take smallache rue fenell wormode egremonye bytanye a lytall uryng of a man chylde & v grans of frankyncense & drope of y^{at} wat^r evry nyght on the sore eyne



B5 010

Recipe 99
confusyon
.....

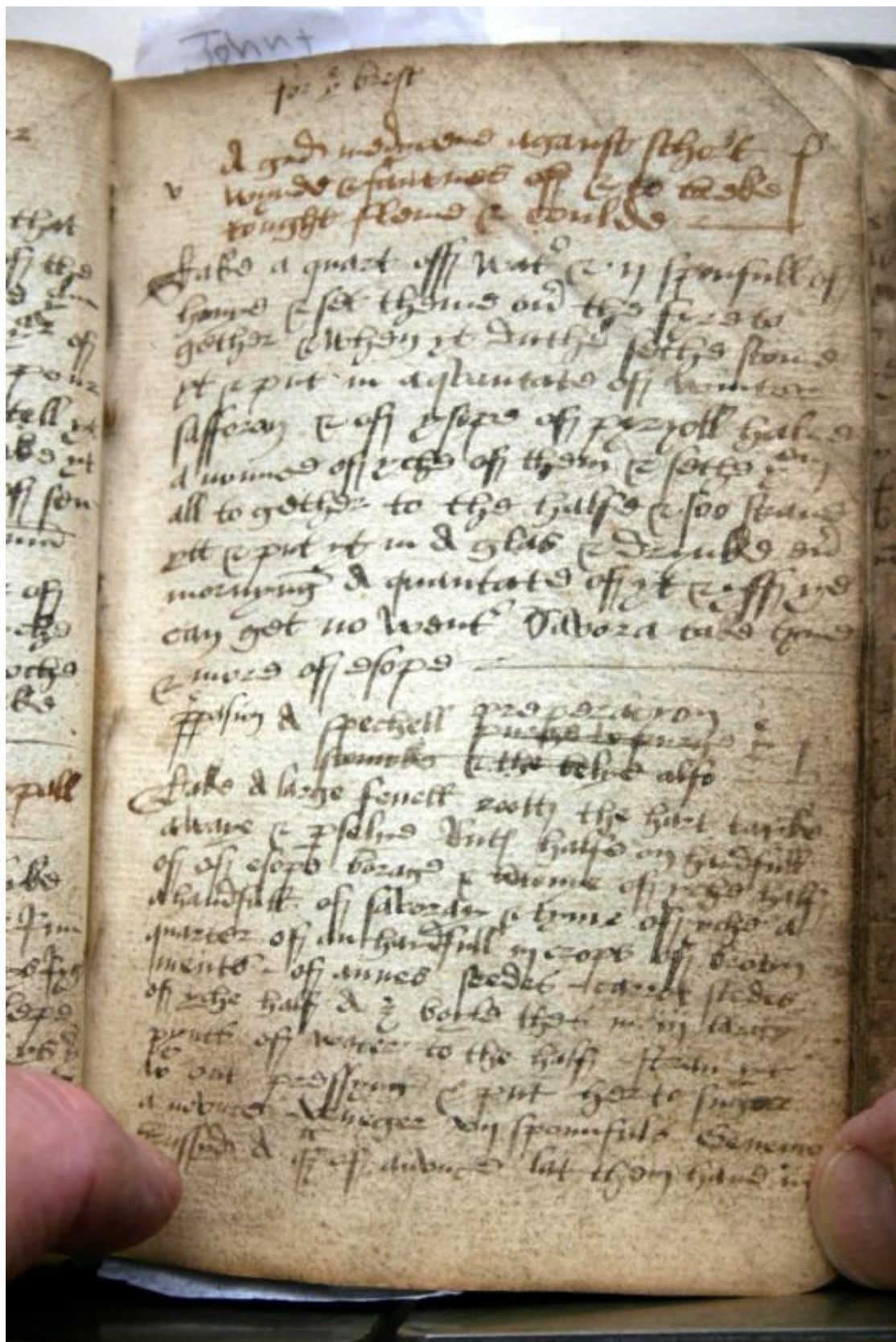
ffor Restorryng natur when yt dekeys

Take the rots of saturyon that well senke to the bothom of the wat^r be for medsen & drye yt in the same & make poud^r y^{ar} of then take honye that ys pour clarefyde & let yt sethe tell yt be thyke & broune then take yt doune & put in your poud^r cardymom cloves mace nutmygs & flour of canell Take all thes lyke muche as all y^e other poud^r & make a lectuarye ther of

Recipe 100
schyng gels

ffor the shen glys a pryncypal remede

Thys molody in maner ys lyke wylde fyre & yt wyll spryng & run a bout a man & yff yt so doo yt ys right parlus & but dethe yff yt clepe a man a bout & the remade ys ye take dovys doung that ys moyst & barly meyle of eche half a pound ---



B6 001

Recipe 101
brest

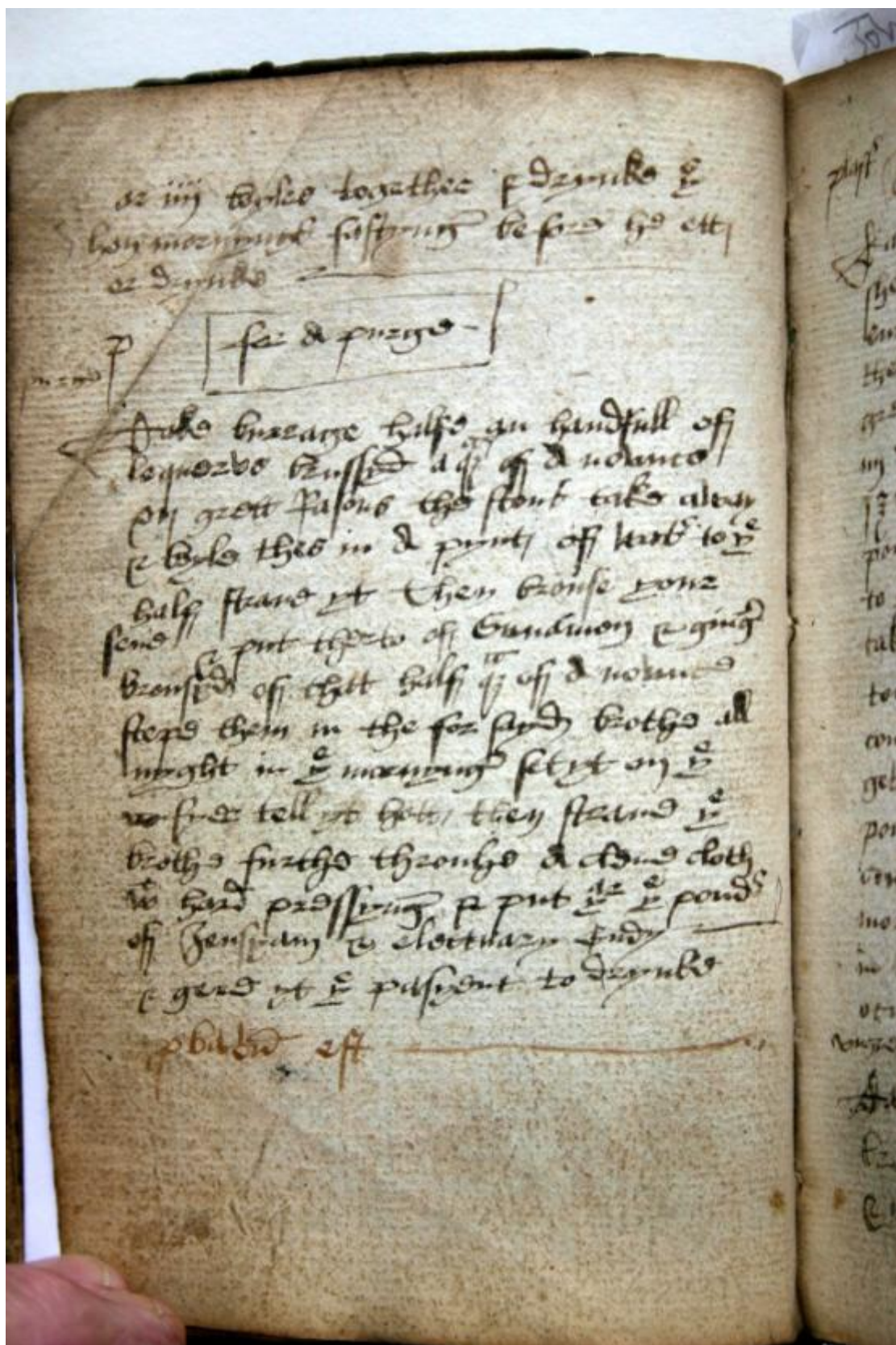
a gud medycene aganst short wynde & fantnes & to breke tought fleme for ye
& coulde

Take a quart of wat^r & ij sponfull of honye & set them on the fyre together & when yt duthe sethe ? stome yt & put in a quantate of winter safforay & of ysope of pyryoll halve a nounce of yche of them & sethe y^{am} all together to the halfe & soo strayne ytt & put yt in a glas & drynke evr mornynge a quantate of ytt & yff ye can get no went^r savora take tyme & more of esope

Recipe 102
ppasing

a spechel preperacyon

Take a large fenell roott the hart take awaye & pselye Ruts half an handfull of esope borage & betonye of yche half a handfull of savoray & tyme of yche a quart^r of an handfull iij crops of broun ments of annes seedes carrot seedes of yche half ounce boyle thes in iij pynts of wat to the half – stran yt wyth out pressyng & put her to suger a nounce – venegar vij spoonfuls Senemon brussyd
of auvnce lat them have iij or iiij boyles to gether & drynke ye hon mornynge befor he ett or drynke



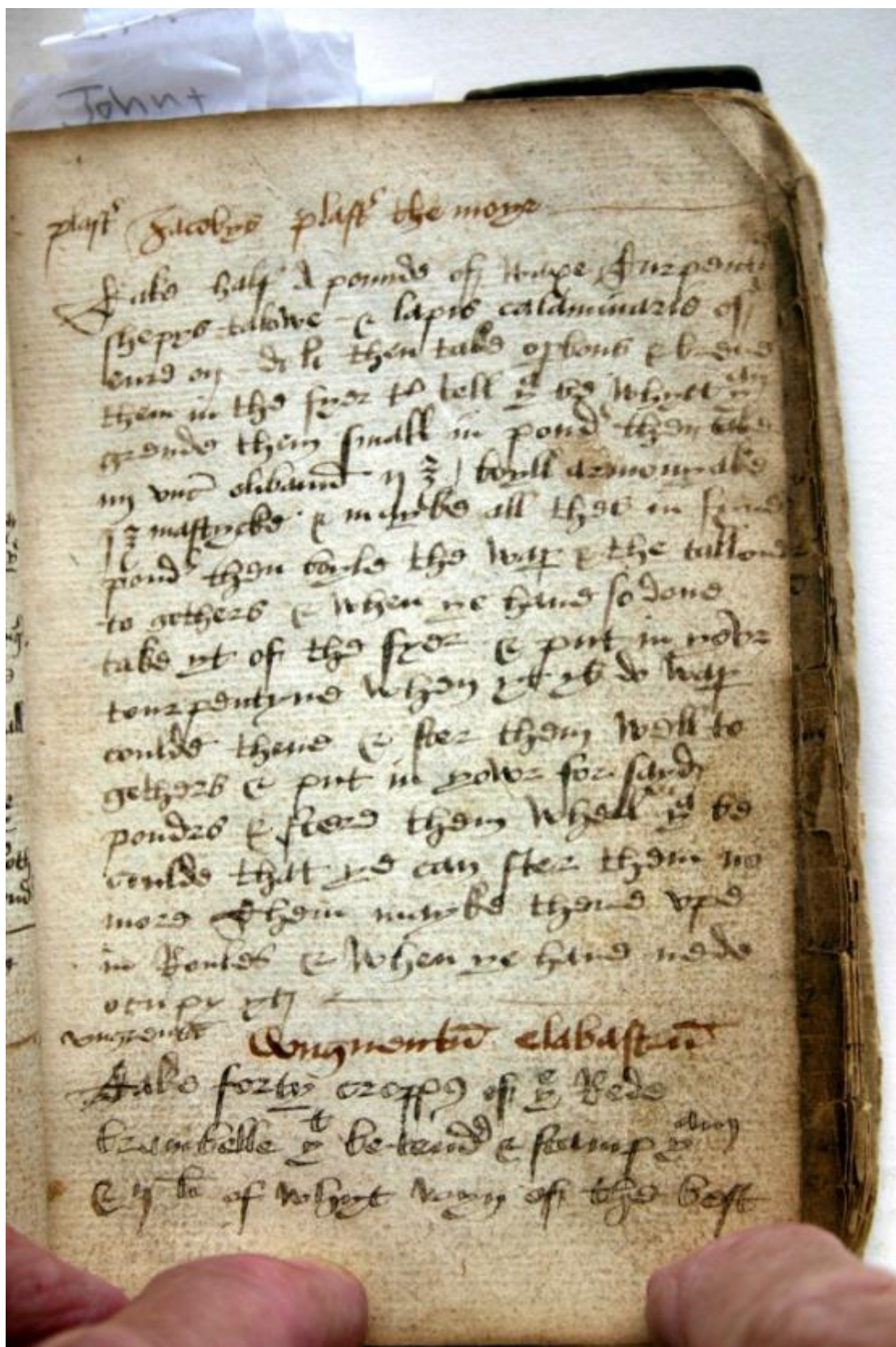
B6 002

Recipe 103

.....

for a purge

Take burrage halfe an handfull of lequervs brussyd a qr of a nounce xij grett
rasons the stons take away & boyle thes in a pynt of wat^r to ye half strane yt
then brouse your sene & put ther to of sunamen & ginger stepe them in the
for sayd brothe all nyght in y^e mornynge set yt on y^e fyer tell ys hott then
strane y^e broth furthe throu a clene cloth wyth hard pressyng & put
y^{ar}y^e poud^r of jnsyan & electuary endy & geve yt y^e pasyent to **drynke pbavn**
est



& halfe a handfull of Benz
 & myrre of flower of almond
 with .c. pound of fenel seide
 & of stone & y^e cald ala
 blest d^r to & of oyle of
 Rose y^e .c. & of y^e soap y^e one
 & all shalbe stampyd faine &
 soap & the camomyle & they
 put the in a mobepot of ey
 & set hit on a soft fire
 & so yt boyll on to the my
 be wafted a waie & they take
 & put fro the fire to boile &
 when y^e y^e no could they
 put ther to & whet of y^e
 egeen & free them all to ge
 & thereon take to the oyle
 they stant et the oyle d^r on
 chylde & that y^e callid a

B6 003

Recipe 104
playstr

Jacobys plastr the moy

Take halfe a ponde of waxe turpentine shepys talowe & lapis calaminaris of eure on – djlj then take opbons & brene them in the fyer tell ya be whytt yan grende them small in poudr then take iiij vnce olibanm ij boyll armonyake j mastycke & mayke all thes in fyne poudr then boyle the wax & the tallow together & when ye have so done take yt of the fyer & put in your tourpentyne when yt ys a wax coulde theme & ster them whell ya be coulde that ye can ster them no mor Then mayke them upe in roulles & when ye have nede occupy yt

Recipe 105
unguentum

unguente alabastre

Take forty cropps of y^e rede brambells y^t be tend & stampe y^{am} & ij lj of whyt wyn of the best & halfe a handful of reue & iiij vnce of flours of camamyll & j vnce of fenel sede & of y^e stone y^t calyd alablestr djlj & of oyle of rosys j lj & of wax ij ounces & all shalbe stampyd saue ye wax & the camamyle & then put them in a neve pot of eyern & set hyt on a soft fyer & do yt boyell on to the wyn be wastyd away & then take pot fro the fyer to lode & when ys coulde then put ther to whyt of vj egren & ster them all to gether on telyt theke then strane yt throughe a lene clothe & that ys callyd a presyous oyntment alabastre for ther ys no mor pcinsar oyntment in ye worlde than y oyntment anoyent the temple & the forhed onto the brouys & ye shalbe hole & yt helpythe all dessesys in ons hand & fete & all members / & for the matrys also anoyent the stomoke & ye raynys & yt wyll do awaye the mygrem all dyssyes of ye eyne to be a noyntyt on the brous

& half at
 present out more alabaster
 for the ye no more point
 present in the world they
 out more anoynt the temple
 & the for the on to the temple
 & the shalke hole & it helpeth
 all diseases in one hand & for
 & all members / & for the matter
 also anoynt the stomack & the
 edynge / & it will do a way
 the way from all diseases off
 come to be a mystry on the
 house

For a man that hath
 ache in his loins
 Take madder & Camphire & stamp
 vny & do thes to / thes good &
 make a playe playe it hot to
 in the place & the place to the

B6 005

Recipe 106
achys

ffor a man that haythe ache in hys loyens

Take wabred & sanycle & stamp yam & do ther to / bors grese & make a
plast^r & laye yt hote to y^e sore place & he shal be holle

[illegible]

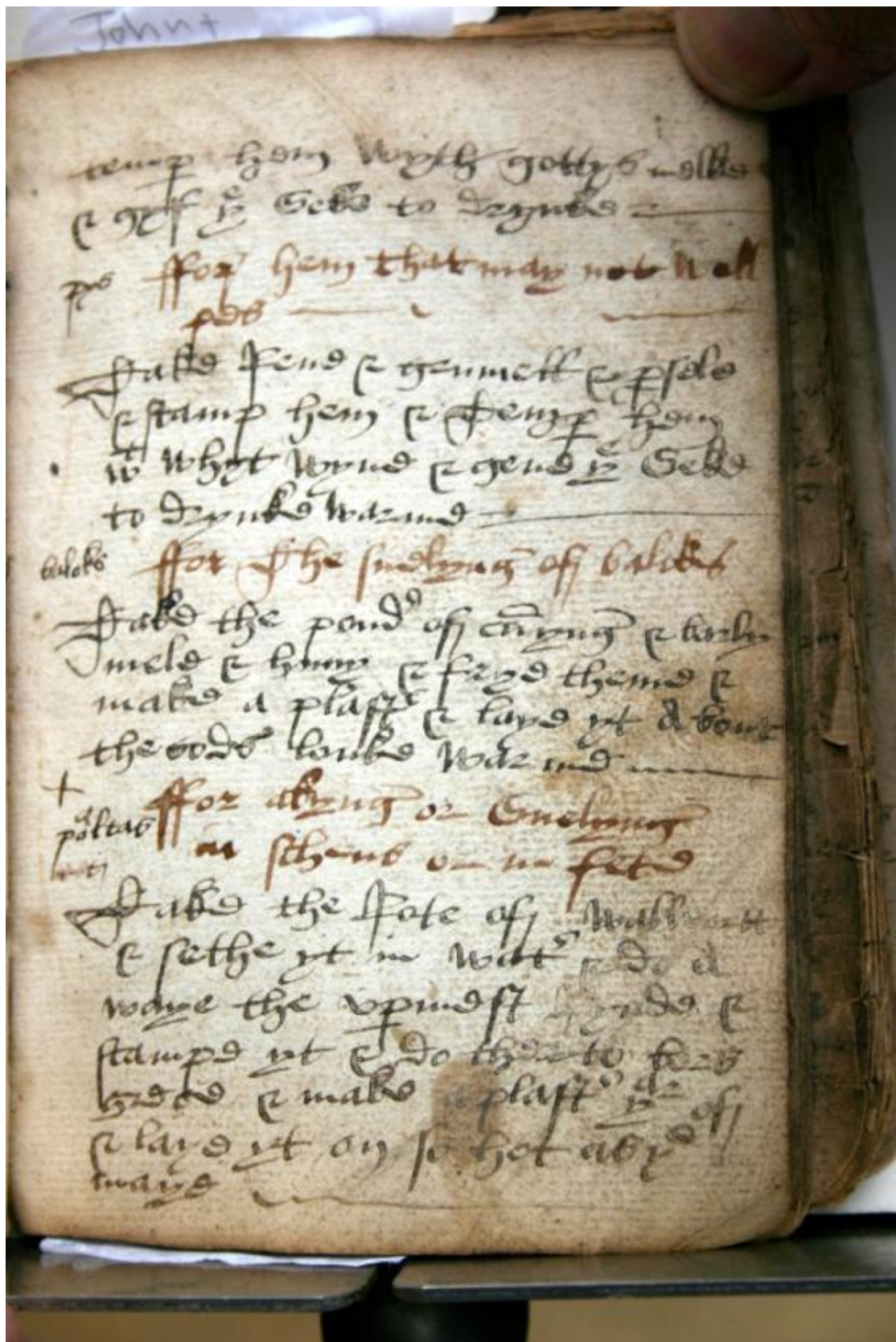
For a mady that pisseth
 her selfe an hand full
 of her owne urine & a hand
 full of stampe tyme & a

B6 006

Recipe 107
stone

ffor the stone a gud medesene

Take grvmell & parcely & the rede netell & violets & loveache & the curnels
cheristons & stampe the scherystons be hemselfs & the erbs be hem selfys
Then take an erthen pot & put y^{dr} to whyt wyne & boyell theme togethers &
after lett yt koll & let yt stonde in the same vasell & when ye have nede gyfe
yt to y^e paycsent to drynke warme & he shalbe holl



Recipe 108
pys

ffor a man that pysseth blode

Take ameros an handfull & melfolye an handfull pselye sede half a handfull & stamp them & temp hem wyth gottys melke & gyf y^e seke to drynke

B6 007

Recipe 109
pys

ffor hem that may not well pes

Take reue & grumell & psele & stamp hem & temp hem with whyt wyne & geve y^e Seke to drynke warme

Recipe 109a
baloks

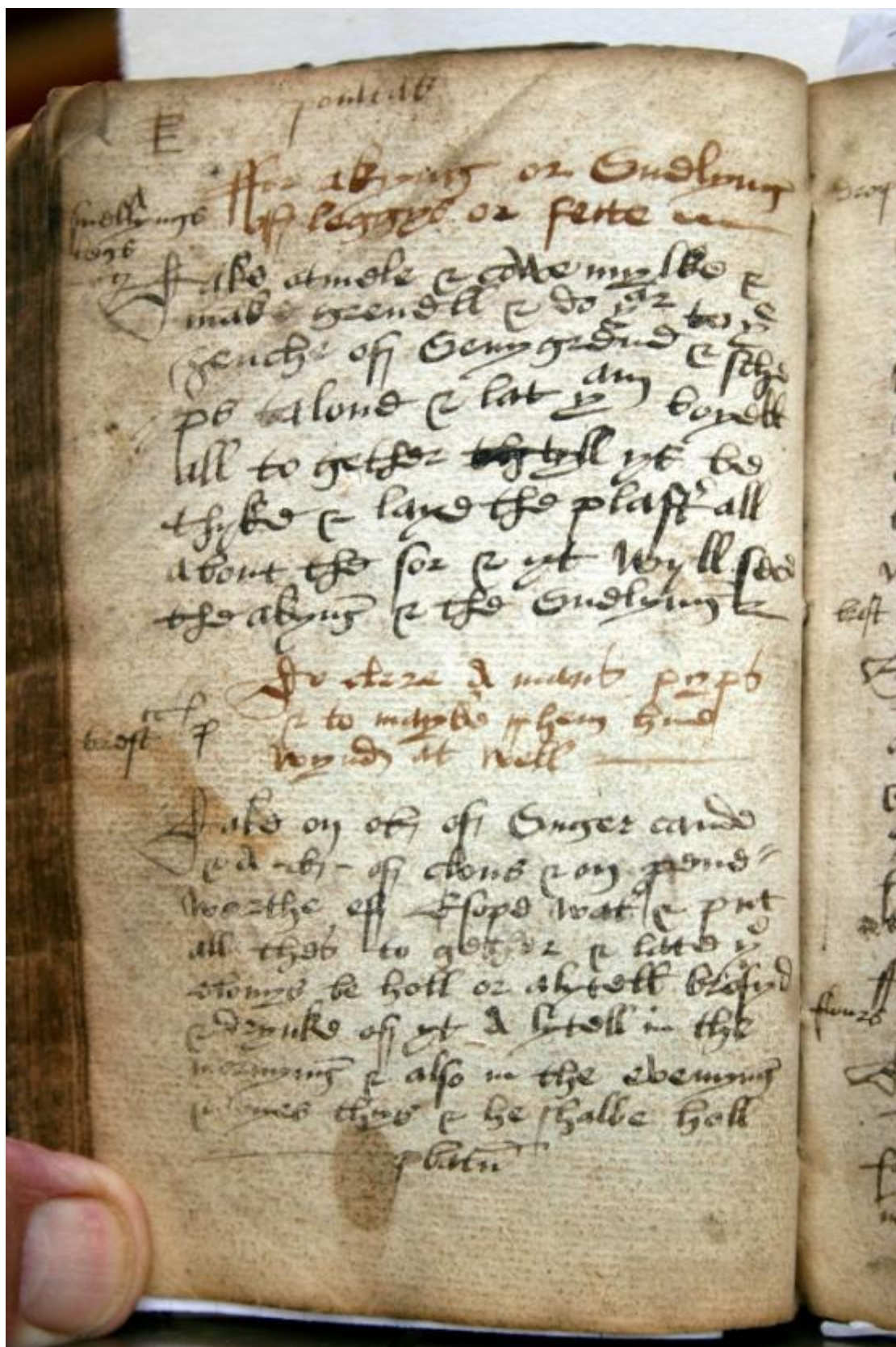
ffor the swelyng of balokes

Take the poud^r of cmyng & barly mele & honny & frye theme & make a plast^r & laye yt a bout the cods louke warm

Recipe 110
poltas

ffor the akyng or Suelyng in schens or in fete

Take the rote of wallwort & sethe yt in wat^r & do away the upmest rynde & stampe yt & do therto bors grece & make a plastr^r y^a^r of & lay yt on so hot as y^t maye



B6 008

Recipe 111

ffor akyng of Suelynge of leggyss or fete

poultas swellyng

legs

Take otmele & cowes mylke & make greuell & do y^{ar} to ye
jeuche of senygrene & scheps taloue & lat y^{am} boyell all
together tyll yt be thyke & laye the plast^r all about the sor & yt
wyll sece the akyng & the swellyng

Recipe 112

To clere a mans pyps & to make hem have wynd at well

brest

Take on obj of suger cande & a obj of clovs & on pound werthe of sope
water & put all that together & late ye cloves be holl or a lytell brosyd &
drynke of yt a lytell in the mornyng & also in the evenynge & vyes thys & he
shalbe holl --- pbatn

For the Drope
 When water is to be layd in floshe
 & the skyn take the schalms
 of sheperd skens or of met skens
 mayke them done & sette in fros
 water so thicke as glasse & do it
 on adde & laye it a litle
 wth & it well drawe it do
 wth

For to make a long
 f^{or} the longest of a f^{or} in
 anayche & draw hem well in
 a hound & make a pond of
 & etc it in vnder putage by daye
 & drawe so moche as a good
 felberd & it well may be & long
 wth

For to make a hound to
 f^{or} the floshe
 Take the floshe off glasse & laye
 them to dryed, floshe medefes
 floshe wth but litle that floshe
 wth in floshe & the floshe off

B6 009

Recipe 113
dropsa

ffor the dropesy

When water ys betwx ye fleshe & the sken take the schavyns of schepys skene or of net skens wayshe them clene & sethe y^{am} in fayer water so thyke as gleue & do yt a clothe & laye yt a bone hys bodye & yt well drane yt out

Recipe 114
brest

ffor to mayke on long brethyd

Take the loungs of a fox in mayrche & drye hem well in a novyene & make a poudr yr of & ete yt in your potage vii days every day so moche as a gud felbert & yt well mayke y^e long brethyd

Recipe 115
flours

ffor to mayke a woman to have hyr flours

Take the rotes of gladyn whan they be dystroyed thys medesen falyth nevr but louk that she be not w^t chylde take the rote of gladyn & sethe in veneger or wyne & when yt ys well sodyn set yt on the growend & let her stryde ov^r yt so y^{at} y^{ar} may no ayre a waye but upe to pyvte

gladly & sethe in Veneger or in
 wine & when yt is well so
 drye set yt on the ground &
 let her stonde on yt so yt
 may in a wee a waie out vnto
 in to her pite

*For a woman that hath
 too much floure*

I also have dung the cleve
 tendels & powell yt in Ven
 ger & maye a plaste ther of
 & laye to her nabel so holt
 as sheman suffer yt & sh
 shall be holt

a nother for the same

I also have floure & fine yt
 in melk & hony & maye
 a plaste & do as ye a for sayd

a nother for the same

I also comfey & washe yt day
 & stang yt & fine yt in wine
 & milke & plaste to the nabel
 & a nother to the same

B6 010

Recipe 116
flours

ffor a woman that hayth to moche flours

Take hors dung the clene truddels & boyell yt in veneger & mayk a plast ther of & laye to her navell so hott as she may suffer yt & she shalbe holl

Recipe 117
flours

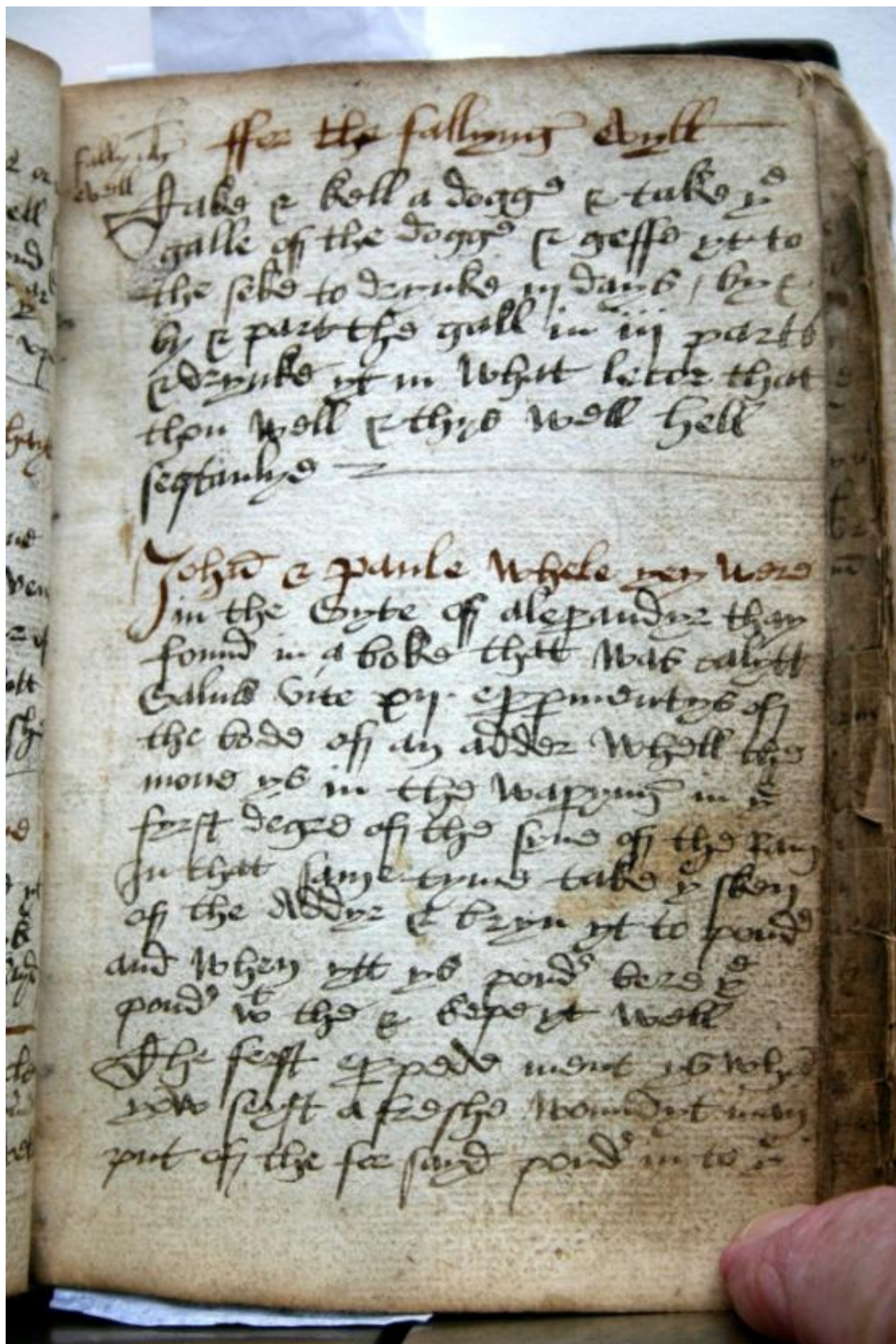
a nother for the sayme

Take whet flour & frye yt in melke & honye & mayk a plast' & do as ys a for sayde

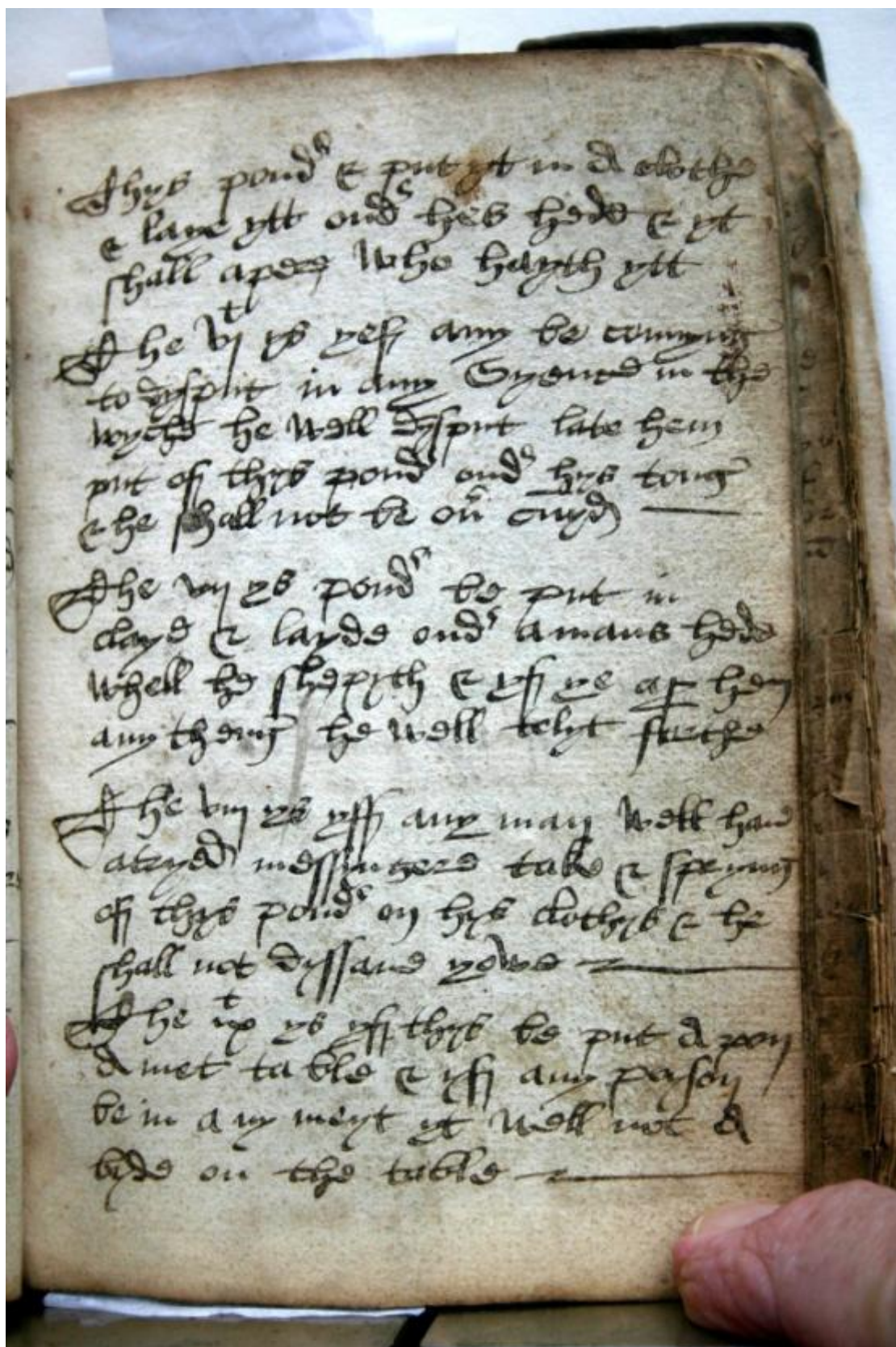
Recipe 118
flours

another for the same

Take comfra & washe yt clen & stamp yt & frye yt in wyne & make a plast' to the navel & another to the raynes



Wounde & W in iij dayes it shall
 be hole
 The seconde ys yf any man
 suppose to be hurt of his hand
 let him spray of this poude
 a many tyme hence & it shall
 do him no harme So longe as
 the poude ys in his hole
 The iiith ys yf hit be murthered
 wth water & mayd softe &
 spray it in the face & when
 the enemye lodges in the
 face he shall p^{er}ish
 The iiiith ys yf a poude be
 cast in to his neybol^{er} house
 it shall make him to for^{se} his
 house & his maner
 The vth ys yf any man be
 wounde hande stonking any
 thing of his l^{ord} whom
 he dothe suspect take off



B7 001

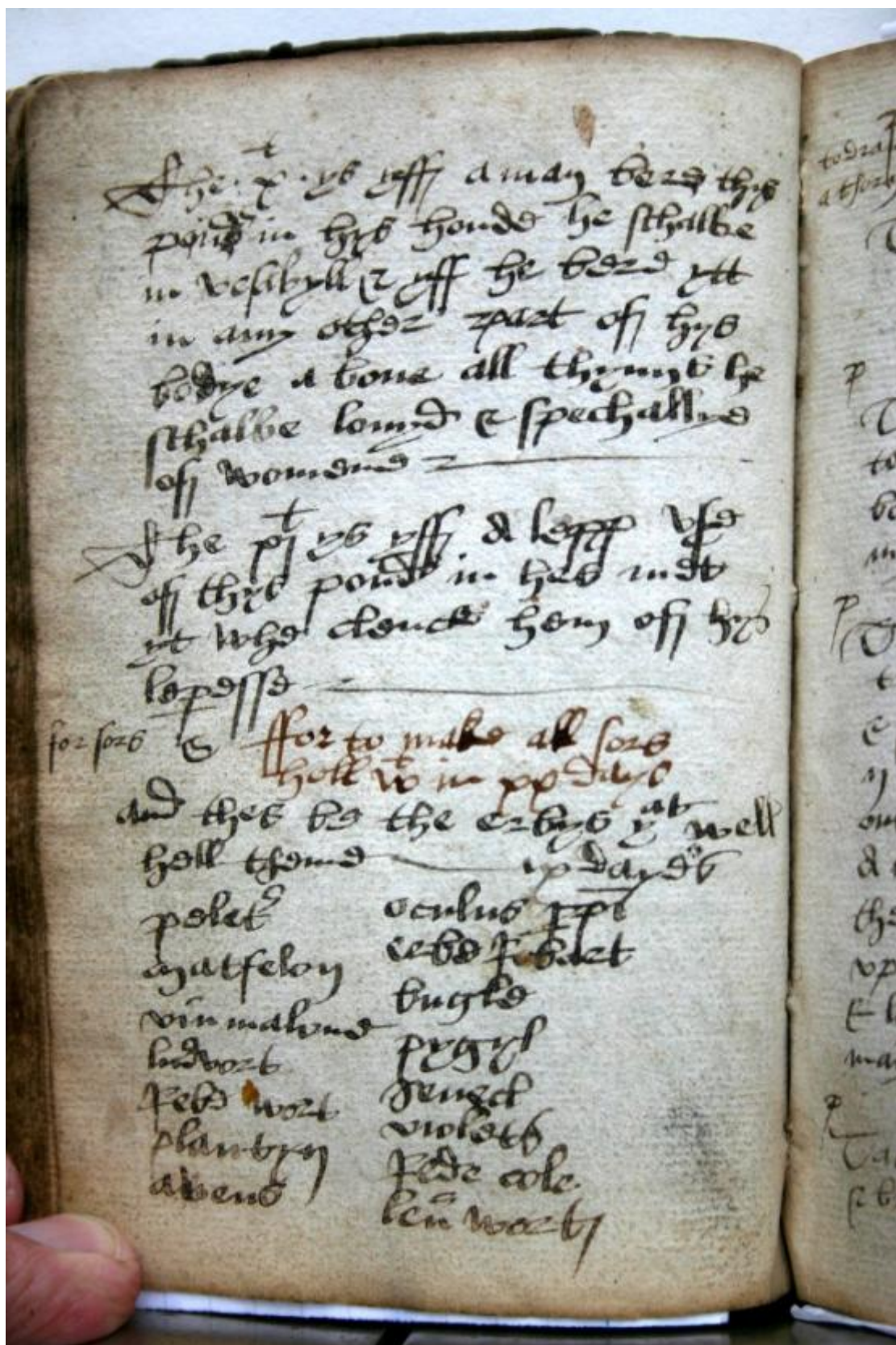
Recipe 119
fallyng evyll

ffor the fallyng evyll

Take & kell a dogge & take y^e galle of the dogge & geffe yt to the Seke to drynke iij days bye & bye & part the gall in iij parts & drynke yt in what lecor that thou well & thys well hell seytanly

Recipe 120

John & Paule whele yey were in the Syte of alexander thay found in a boke that was callyt Salus Vite xij expimentys of the bode of an adder whell the mone ys in the waxyng in ye fyrst degre of the syne of the Ram Ju that same tyme take ye sken of the addyr & bryn yt to poudr & when ytt ys poudr bere ye poud with the & kepe yt well
The ferst expedement ys when you seyst a freshe woundyt man put of the for sayd poudr into ye wounde & w^t in iij dayes yt shal be hole --
The seconde ys yef any man suppose to be hurt of hys enimys let hem spryng of thys poudre a mong hys heys & y^e shall do hem no harme So longe as the poudre ys in hys hede ----
The iij ys yeff hyt be mellyd w^t water & mayd softe & spryng yt in thy face & when thy enimys loke in thy face he shall Runauaye ---
The iiij ys yeff y^e poudr be cast in to hys nebour's hous yt shall make hem to for beare hys house & hys manaye ---
The .v. ys yef any man or woman haue stoulyn any thing of hys loke whome he duthe suspect Take of thys poudr & put yt in a clothe & laye ytt onder hes hede & yt shall apere who hayth ytt --
The vj^t ys yef any be comyng to dysput in any syence in the wyche he well dysput late hem put of thys poudr onder hys tong & he shall not be our cuyd ---
The vij ys poudr be put in claye & layde onder a mans hede when he slepyth & yf ye ax hem any theng he well telyt for the
The viij ys yff any man well haue atryed messyngere take a spryng of thys poudr on hys clothys & he shall not dyssaue yowe ----
The ix^t ys yf thys be put apon a met table & yf any poyson be in any meyt yt well not abyde on the table ---
The x^t ys yeff a man bere thys poudr in hys honde he shalbe invesyall & yff he bere ytt in any other part of hys bodye aboue all thyngs he shalbe louyd & spechallye of womene
The xij^t ys yff a lepp use of thys poudr in hes met yt whe clence hem of lepesse



B7 004

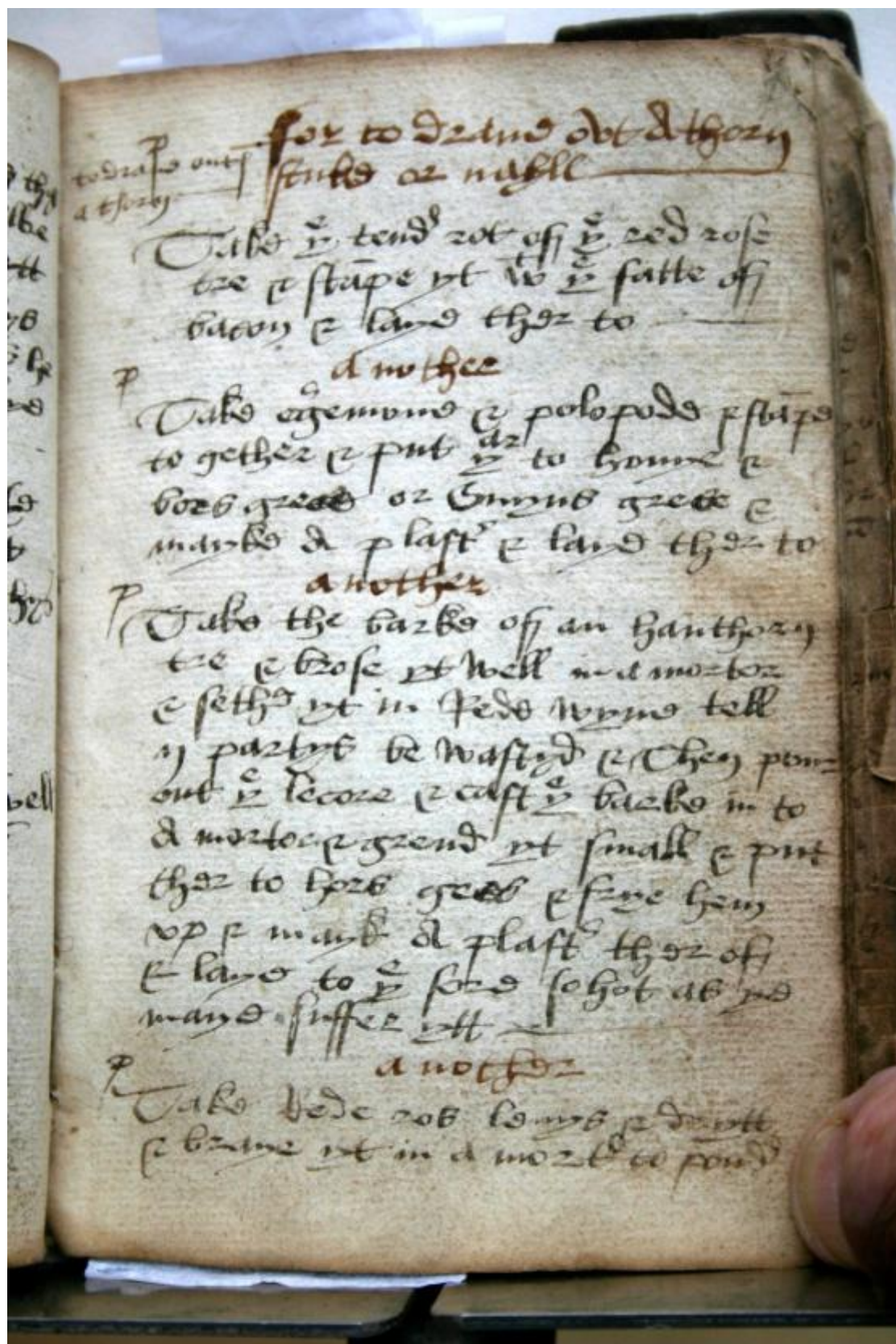
Recipe 120a
for sors

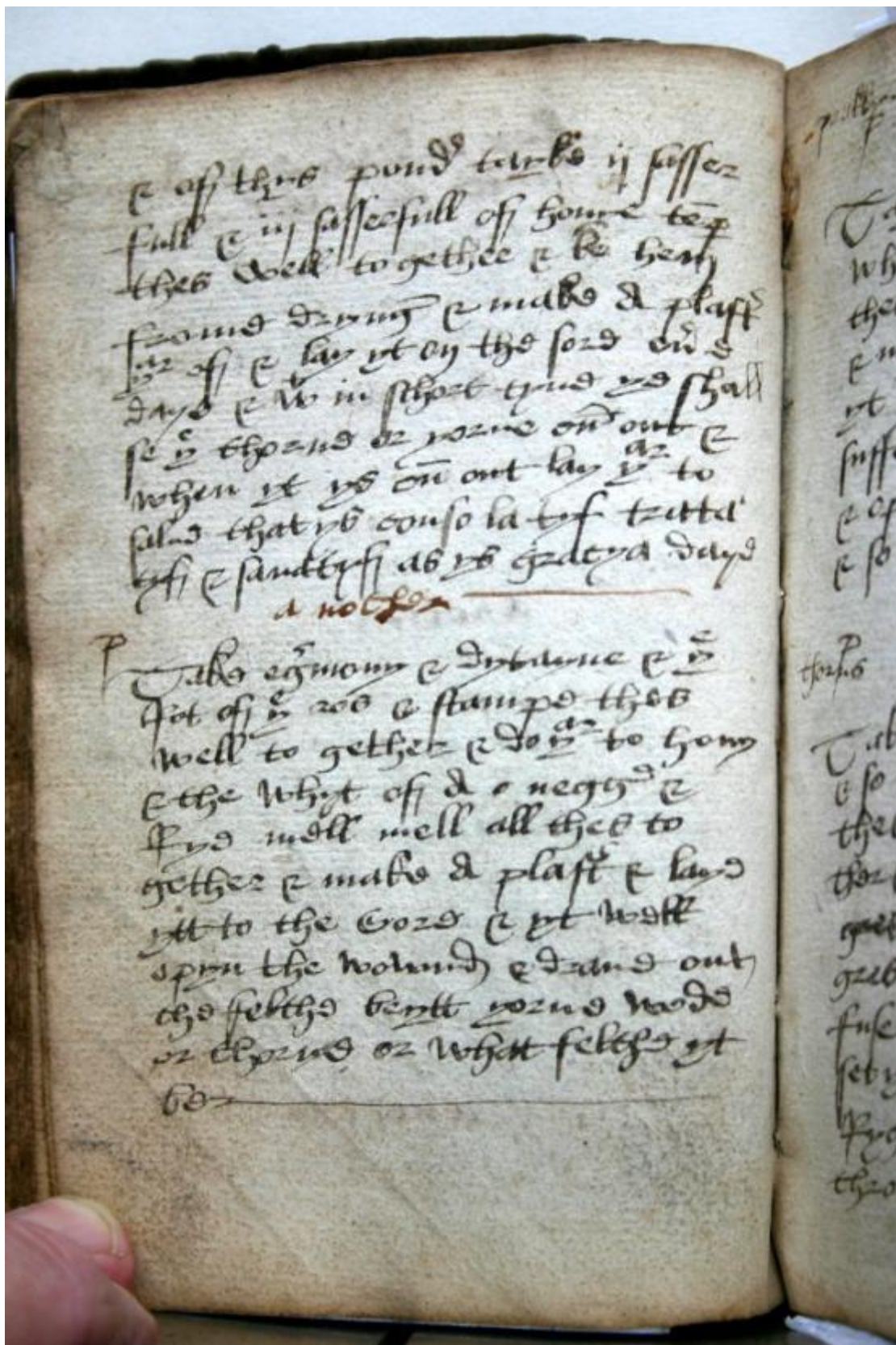
ffor to make all sors holl w^t in xx days

and thes be the erbys y^{at} well hell theme ----- ix dayes

pelets
matfelon
vin maloue
ludwort
rebewort
plantyn
avens

oculus xpi
erbe Robart
bugle
pygyl
seurel
violets
Rede cole
lev^s wort





B7 005

Recipe 121

for to draue out a thorne stuke or nayle

to draue out
a thorn

Take y^e tender rot of y^e red rose tre & stape yt wt ye fate of
bacon & laye ther to

Recipe 122

another

p

Take egremone & polopode & stape together & put y^{ar} to honye & bors grece
or swyns grece & mayke a plast^r & laye ther to

Recipe 123

another

p

Take the barke of an hawthorn tre & brose yt well in a mortor & sethe yt in
Rede Wyne tell ij partys be wastyd & then pour out y^e lecore & cast y^e barke
in to a mortor & grend yt small & put ther to hors grese & frye hem vp &
mayk a plast^r ther of & laye to ye sore so hot as ye maye suffer ytt

Recipe 124

another

p

Take rede ros levys & dry ytt & bray yt in a mort^r to poud & of thys poud^r
tayke ij sasserfull & iij sasserfull of honye tep thes well together & kepe hem
frome drying & make a plast^r y^{ar} of & lay yt on the sore evr daye & w^t in a
short tyme ye shall se y^e thorne or yorne cm out when yt ys cm out lay y^{ar} to
salve that ys conso latyf tratatyf & sanatyf as ys gracya daye

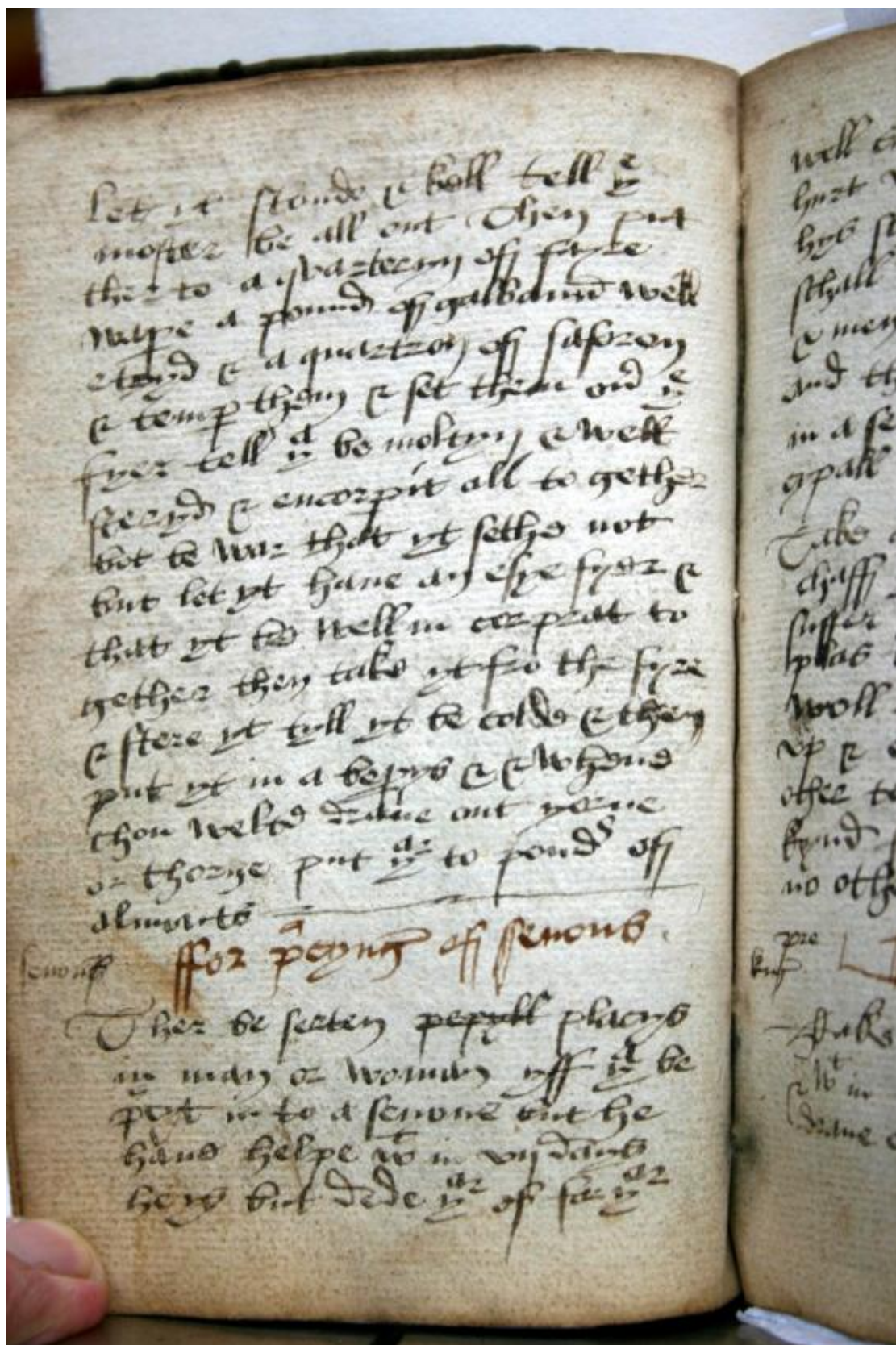
B7 006

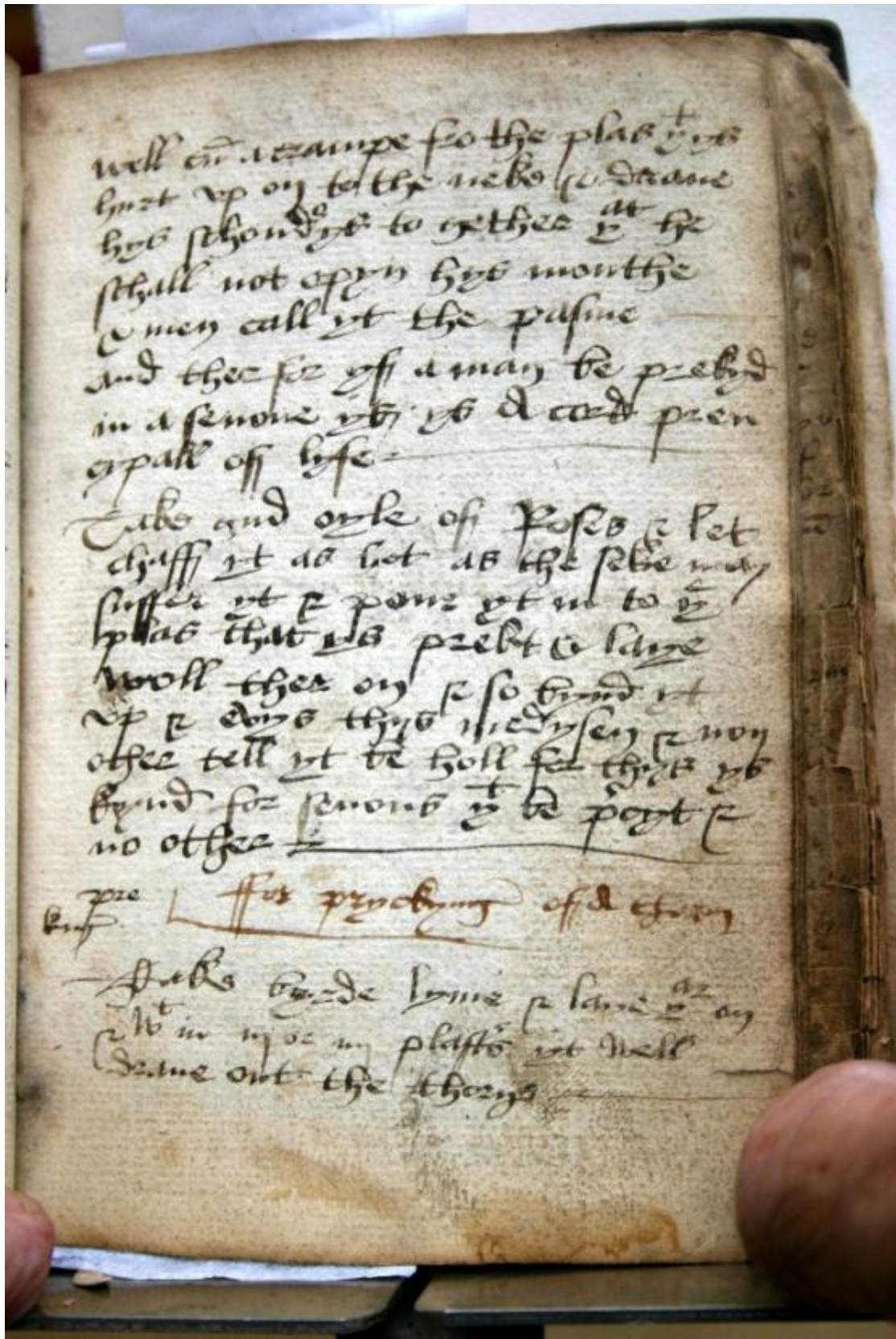
Recipe 125

another

p

Take eg^rmony & dytayne & y^e rot of y^e ros & stampe thes well to gether & do
y^{ar} to hony & the whyt of a negge & rye mell mell all thes to gether & make a
plast^r y^{ar} at & laye yt to the sore & yt well opyn the wound & draue out the
felthe be ytt yorne wode or thorne or whatt felthe yt be





B7 007

Recipe 126
P prekkyn

A nother for the pkyng of medyll or yorne thorne in joynts

Take fayre bulbet floure of whete & tep yt wt wyne & boyle thes to gether tyll yt be thyke & mayke a plast^r ther of & lay yt upon y^e sore so hote as he may suffer yt & y shall sese y^e akyng & opyng y^e hole & clos yt a gen & so hell yt for gud

Recipe 127
P
thorns

To mayke a tret to opyng & draue out thorn or yorn

Take alik & dj of egermone & so moche of violets & grend thes small in a mortor & put ther to a pounce of neue fryche swynes gres or of cats grece & so lat theme stand in fuse xiiij days or moer & aft^r set yt on the fyre tyj yt be ryte hotethen strane yt throuhe a canvas clothe & so lette yt stoned and a quartron of saforen & temp them & set them over yfyer tell y^a be moltyn & well steryd & encorpit all together bot be war that yt sethe not but letyt have an esye fyer & that yt be well ecorpit to gether then take yt fro the fyer & sterye yt tyll yt be colde & then put yt in a bexys & whene thou welte draue out yorne or thorn put y^{ar} to poud of almonds

B7 008

Recipe 128
senous
P

ffor p'cyng of senous

Ther be serten placys in man or woman yff y^a be p'cyt in to a senour but he have helpe w^t in vij days he ys but dede y^{ar} of for y^{ar} well cm a crampe fro the plas y^t ys hurt vpon to the neke & draue hys schoudrys together y^{ar} he shall not opyn hys mouthe & men call yt the pasm --- and ther for yf a man be prekyd in a senour ye ys a cort^t prencypal of lyfe ---

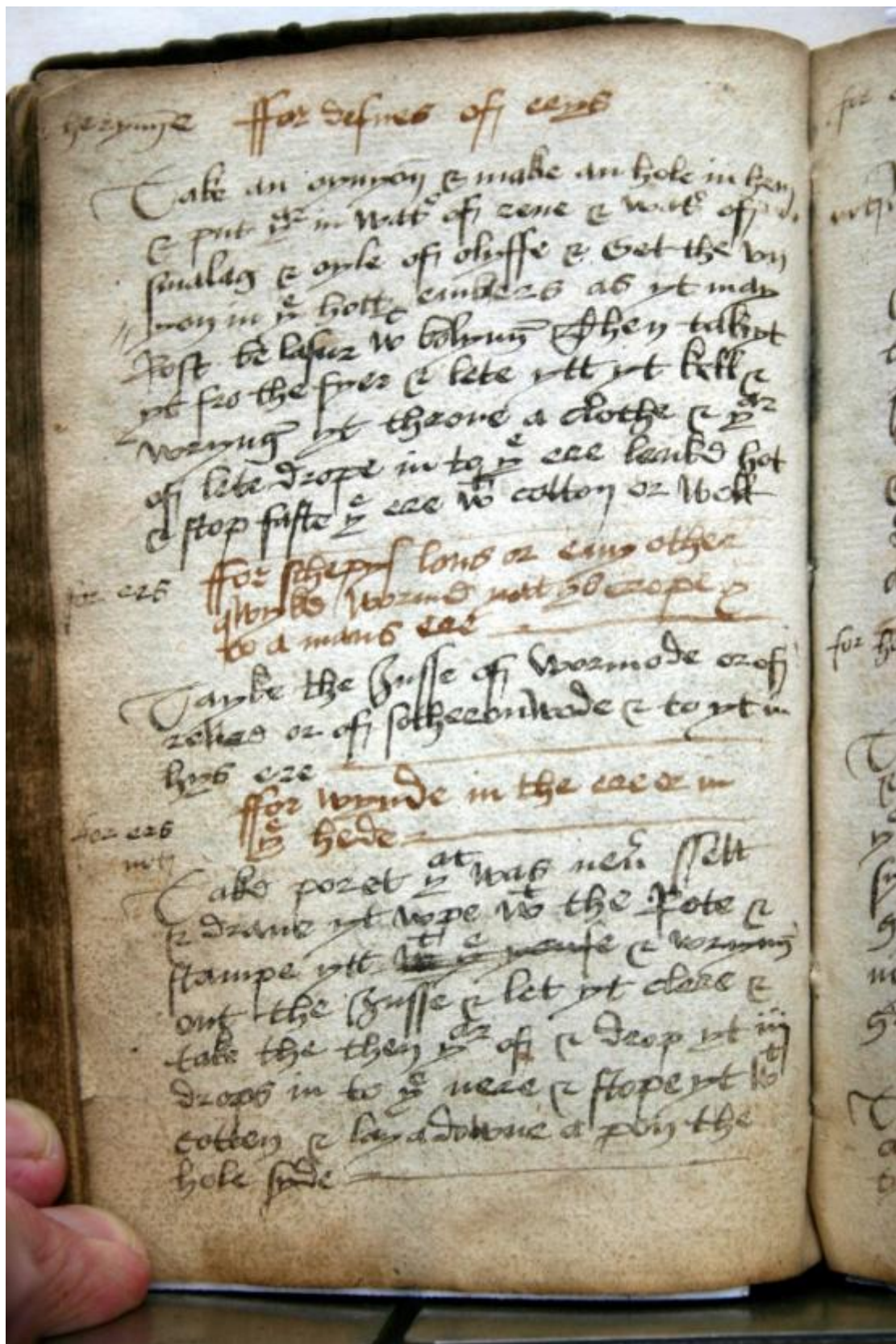
Take gud oyle of roses let chaff yt as the seke may suffer yt & pour yt into ye plas that ys prekt & laye woll ther on & so bynd yt up & evys thys medysen & non other tell yt be holl for thysys kynd for senous yt be pcyt & no other

B7 009

Recipe 129
....

ffor prykyng of a thorn

Take byrde lyme & laye y^{ar} on w^t in iij or iiij plast^r yt well draue out the thorne



B7 010

Recipe 130
herynge

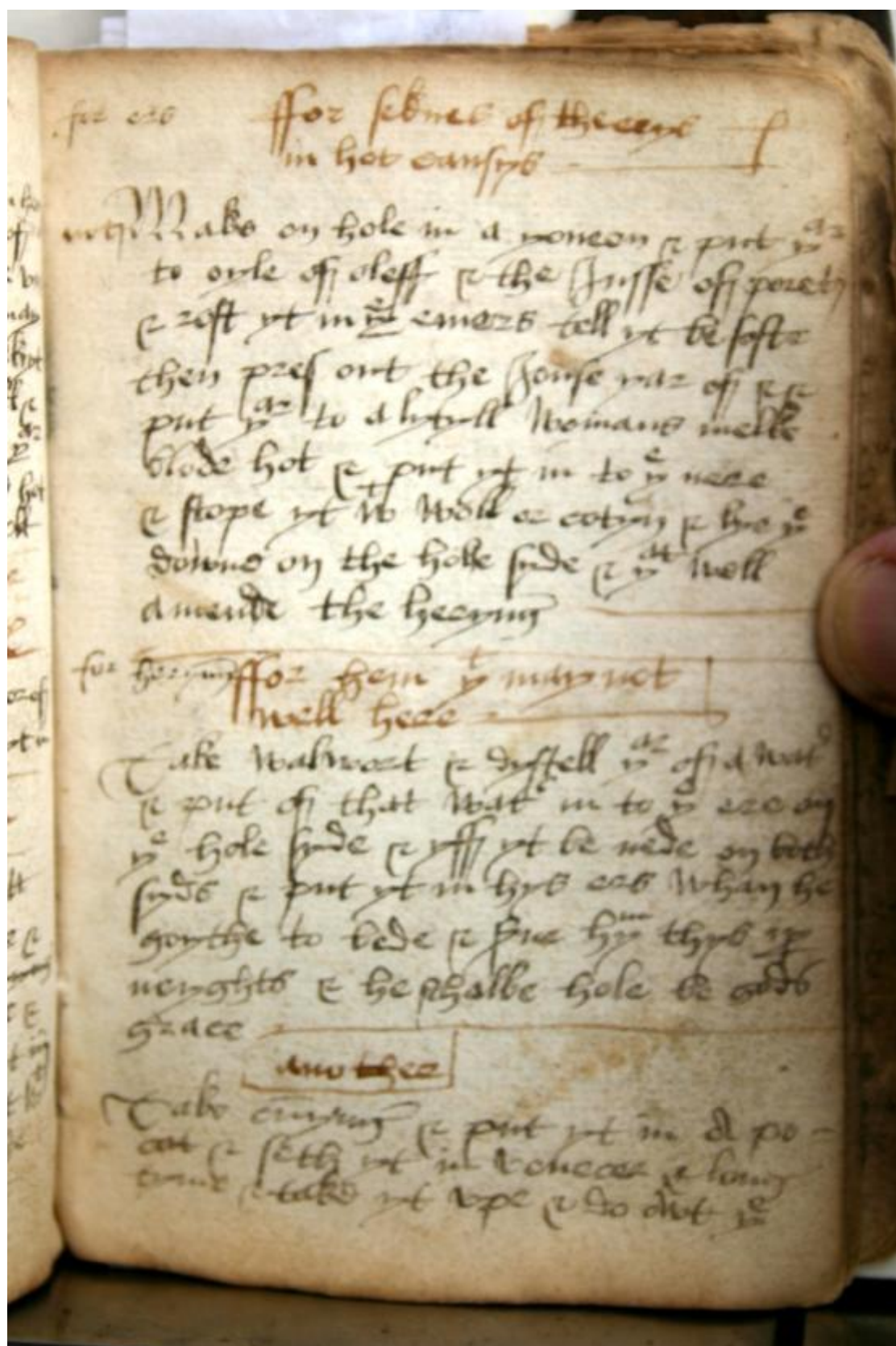
ffor defnes of erys

Take an oynyon & make a hole in hem & put y^{ar} in wat^r of reue & wat^r of smallag & oyle of olyffe & set the unyon in ye hott embers as yt may rost be lasur w^t bolyng then takyt yt fro the fyer & lete ytt yt koll wryng yt throue a clothe & y^{ar} of lete drops into y^e ere leuke hot & stop fast y^e ere w^t cotton or woll

Recipe 131
for ere

ffor shepys lous or eny other quyke worme yatt ys crepey to a mans ere

Take the jsse of wormode or of reue or of southeronwode & to yt in hys ere



B8 001

Recipe 132

for ere

.....

ffor the seknes of the erys in hot causys

Make a hole in a yoneon & put yar to oyle of oleff & the Juss of poret
& rost yt in ye emers tell yt be softe then pres out the Jouse y^{ar} of & put
y^{ar} to a lyttel womans melke blode hot & put yt into ye uere & stope yt
w^t wolfe or cotyn & lye ye downe on the hole syde & y^{at} well amende the
heryng

Recipe 133

for heryng

ffor hem y^t may not well here

Take walwort & dystell y^{ar} of a wat^r & put of that wat^r into y^e ere on y^e hole
syde & yff yt be nede on both syde & put yt in hys ere whan he goythe to
bede & do hy^m thys ix neyghts & he shalbe hole be gods grace

Recipe 133a

another

Take cumyn & put yt in a po cat & sethe yt in venecer a long tyme & take yt
upe & do w^t ye & lay to y^e nere so hot as ye may suffer yt & so do to thoue
be hole

& lay yt to y^e neere so hot ys
 he may suffer yt & so do to
 thoue be hole
 another

Take & rede pa oymone & paye
 aWaye & ordeine & put it in y^e
 clunfro off the liche hole & set it
 in a cunio off y^e fyre to fofte & whe
 it ys well & fofett worping yt
 throught & clothe in to a glab
 & put thez to of in to y^e for ere
 for the canker

here y^e shall knowe y^e gont foff
 fro y^e cankerz the gont fester gant
 andzond hole w^o out & w^o in
 the cankerz sayth a wode thell w^o
 out & nazone w^o in the fester y^e felle
 but say the mo helpe then tunc
 the cankerz ys enmoz w^o on hole
 to knowe y^e to bmo off y^e bedyming
 off the cankerz wher en yt be

take heed w^her the gonty is or
 afor it is well beh^d or an old
 sore or trofure & is ofte & backe &
 so trelyth out agayns w^h in a welch
 & p^r w^her off he is one or thre
 beh^d it is p^razure
 And none th^{er} shal knowe w^hether
 the canker be in or nott
 off the fester be in the fleshe y^en well
 the^r en dote of a sore as it was the
 w^hore and off it be in a senote
 it well en out as it was trofure
 the and off y^et be in the bone it
 well en out as it was trofure
 the^r fester be the & to knowe of a
 w^her th^{er} maye knowe what it
 is scarse
 To knowe the canker fro a fester
 take a pece of fustice & se it
 it all on the fester to a sore or a blake
 small & off th^{er} funder it on a mo-
 zone the^r fester then it is a canker
 & off not it is the fester

B8 002

Recipe 134
for ere

another

Take y^e rede oynone & payr away y^e crowne & put y^{ar} in y^e cloufys of the lelye rote & set yt in y^e embers of y^e fyre to roste & when yt ys well rostytt wryng yt throughe a clothe in to a glas & put ther to of in to y^e sor ere

Recipe 135
for ere

ffor wynde in the ere or in y^e hede

Take poret y^{ar} was nev^r ssett & draue yt up w^t the rote stampe yt & wryng out the jusse & let yt clere & take the then y^{ar} of & drop yt iij drops in to y^e uere & stope yt w^t cotton & lay a downe o pon the hole syde

Recipe 136
for cankers

ffor the canker

Houe y^u shall know y^e gout fest^r fro y^e canker the gout fester hayth a naroue hole w^t out & wyd w^t in the canker hayth a wyde thrott w^t out & naroue w^t in the fester ys selde but haythe mo holys then toue The canker ys ev^rmore w^t on hole to knoue y^e to kyns of y^e bredyng of the canker wher eu^r yt be take hede wher the gout ys or a sor y^t ys evell helyd or an ould sore or brosure y^t ys oft y broke & so brekyth out agayne w^t in v wekys or x wekys aft^r he ys ons or twys helyd yt ys parlous ----

to knoue not

and noue thoue shalt knoue wether the canker be y^{ar} in or nott yff the festor be in the flyshe yen well ther cm out of y^e sore as yt war thyke wore and yff yt be in y^e senous yt well cm out as yt war brovne lye and yff ytt be in the bone yt well cm out as yt war thyke blode These forsayd be y^e wych thoue maye knoue what yt ys seurlye -----

To knowe kanker fro y^e festor take a pese of fryshe chese & bynd yt all on nyght to y^e sore or a blake snall & yff theme fynde yt on y^e moroue ther layd then yt ys y^e canker & iff not yt ys the festor

canker

To p^{re}vent & canker as Worme

Take redde docto zotes & collyre pisse
& stampe the to gether & strain oore
ye leete & do yt in the hol of e
& laye a plaste ther one

Then take hony & the gale of
a gooty & mel them to gether &
ther w a noynt the sore & w
well sle y canker & heile & soe
and off ^{as} a side flythe y in
take take ashes of beno or
off Resell the & mel ^{as} woulde
fynne grese & laye ^{as} to tye
y on de flythe to a rise & whi
it ys a rise off y scyte ther
in thredes as yt was small wme
do y above on the best wyes
& at all tymes do worke ther

to
To seche a Wane the thredes
take the p^{ro}dd. of glas & cast
y in tell y fide flects &
a pyze then take the p^{ro}

for the canker

See off the stone & roses &
do it to to hell & the
stone first that it be done
& holl off the dwell & the holl
well not drame to gether

Take y^e vnd of zechell & y^e vnd of
brend lde & a vnd of y^e moze mrell
& oyle of ppe & medyll all thes to
gether as it was a myntiment
& thes to a mynt the fore & it
well tryng it to gether & helly
canker *to fley y^e canker & brennyng of
the floure to gether*

Take y^e leme of roses mrell & of
pillre oylwell & thes & do
onto the hony & y^e not y^e be lde &
make a plast ther off & laye it
a pon the sore wher y^e canker is
& when y^e canker is y^e goe mrell
pound of mrell & cast it on y^e do as
it is afe sand

*for the canker in y^e mouth
to in any other place of all
y^e body*

B8 004

Recipe 137

To sleȳ y^e canker or worme

Take rede docke rotes & cowys pysse & stampe hē to ȝether & stran ovt ye lecor & do ye in the hol of y^e & lay a plast^r ther on ----

Then take hony & the gale of a goot & mel them to ȝether & ther w^t a noynt the sore & yt well sle y^e canker & hele y^e sore & yff y^{ar} be dede flyshe y^{ar} on take ashys of bons or of a hesyll tre & mell y^{ar} w^t ould swyns grese & laye y^{ar} to tyll y^e ould flyshe be aryse & when yt ys a ryse yff y^{ar} seyst ther in thredys as yt war small vans do y^{am} awaye on the best wyes & at all tims do morrell ther to

Thredys

To fyche a waye the thredys take the poud^r of glas & caste y^{ar} in tell y^e rede fleche a peyre Thene take the pouder of bens stroue & rosys & do yt y^{ar} to to hell ytt & yff thoue seyst that yt be clene & holl of ye evyll & the holl well not draue to ȝether Take ij vnce of rechell & ij more morell & oyle of roses & medyll all thes to ȝether as yt war a noyntment & ther w^t a noynt the sore & yt well bryng yt to ȝether & hell yt

B8 005

Recipe 138

To sleȳ y^e canker & bryng yt the flyche to ȝether

Take y^e levys of rosys morell & of pillye olryell stampe thes & do onto hē hony y^t ys not y beylde & mayke a plast^r ther of & laye y^t a pon the sore wher y^e canker ys & when y^e canker ys egue mayke poud^r of morell & cast y^{ar} on & do as yt ys afor sayd

Recipe 139

for the canker in ye mouthe ~~or in any other place of all ye bode~~

for the cunke

Take a rot dragon & stized it in
small pesses & let it drie & make
small poud of it & take yf poud
Wycht is of it & do it in hot water
and ther to what name
all on myght & do it on
a morow poud out the water
it do as to what name & seth
itt well & lett a scke drinke
it of wazure & it in my drinke
he shalbe hole

to ste a wozme in a fere
pampe dragon to ould hard
off a fure & bind it to a fere
the wozme shall dye

A drinke for a fure
Take a quantite of good milk
& a vint of dale poud & do it
& mell thes to gether & stize
it to a ny part be wafted
then let the syke drinke it
on daye first & last in spousal
at one luke wazure & he shal
be hole

B8 006

Recipe 140

ffor the Canker

Take ye rot dragons & shred yt in small pessys & let ytt draye & mayke small poud y^{ar} of & take ix penywyght y^{ar} of & do yt in hot wat^r all on nyght & on ye moroue poure out the wat^r & do y^{ar} to whyt wyne & sethe ytt well & lett y^e seke drynke yar of warme & w^t in iiij drynks he shalbe hole

Recipe 141
sor

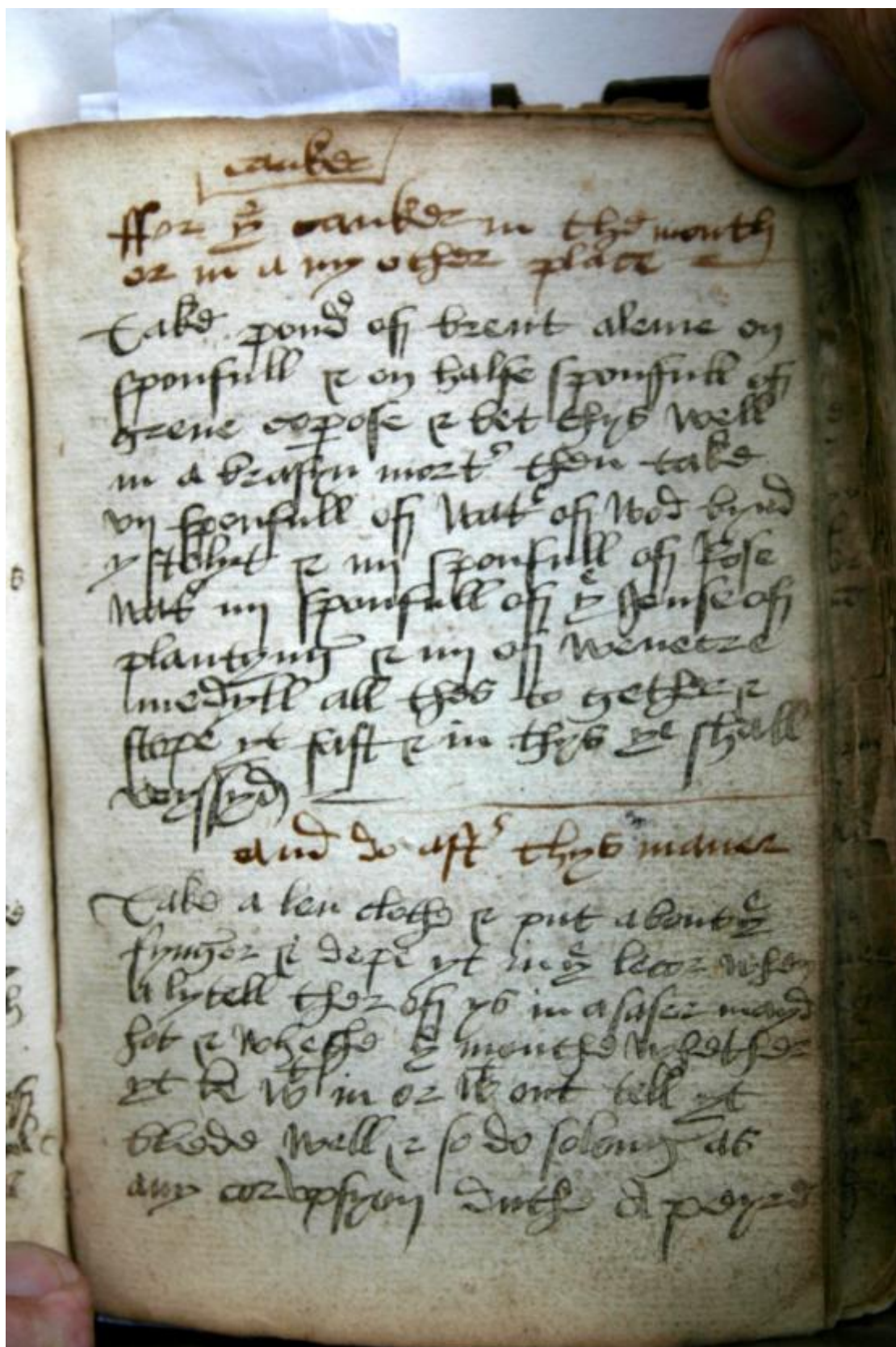
To sle a worme in a sore

stampe dragons w^t ould lard of a swyne & bynd yt to y^e sore & the worme shall dye

Recipe 142
drenke

a drynke for ye same

Take a quantete of good mylke & a ounce of dake sede dudryt & mell thes together & scheyh yt tel y^e iiij ^o part be wastyd then let the syke drynk y^r of iiij days fyrst & last iiij sponful at ons luke warme & he shall be hool



or dede flyst dreges a pece
 so off chancel the dothe cleane &
 empo thys seft in the morning
 & at aft noon & when thou goest
 to thy bedd & off ^{as} a pece any
 holl take a leet dothe & depyt
 in to the wat' & lay yt a poun
 & holo tyll thys myt dressing
 & thys do tell he be holl
a poun to hel
 Take leue lincen & dreges yt a poun
 a holi tyllston & make a poun
 & on & washe the soze skine
 & cast thys poun & apoun
to dystroye scumbe
or felons
 Take 1 lb of plantyn & stamp
 yt smalle & put to hye a lityll
 honye hony & poudre of brend
 alleyn then put all thys in
 ahytill to benoys & laye

B8 007

Recipe 143

Canker

ffor y^e canker in the mouth or in any other place

Take poudr of brent aleme on sponfull & on half sponfull of grene copose & bet thys well in a brasen mort^r then take vij sponfull of wat^r of wodbynd y stolyt & iiij sponfull of rose water iiij sponfull of ye jeuse of plantyng & iiij of wenecre medyll all thye to gether stope yt fast & in thys ye shall wyssed

And do aft thys maner

Take a lene clothe & put about y^e fynger & depe yt in y^e lecor when a lyttel ther of ys in a saser mayd hot & weshe y^e mouthe whether yt be w^t in or w^t out tell yt blede well & so do so long as any corrupsyon duth apeyre or dede flyshe duth apere so of change the clothe clene & euys thys ferst in the mornynge & at after nounge & when thoue goyst to thy bedde & yf y^{ar} apere any holl take a lenet clothe & dep yt in the water & lay yt apone y^e hole tyll the nyxt dressyng & thys do tell he be holl

B8 008

Recipe 144
poudr

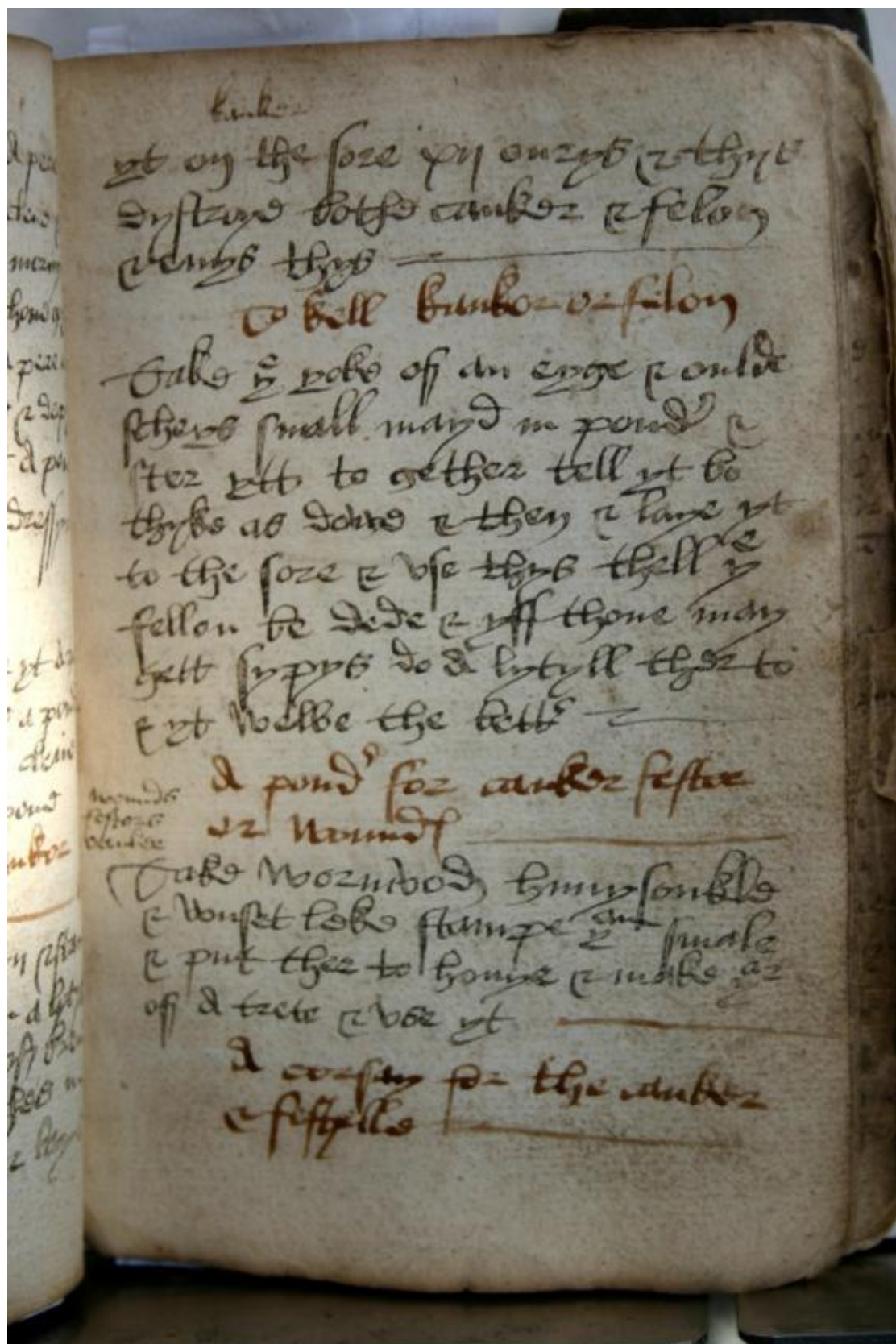
a powder to hel

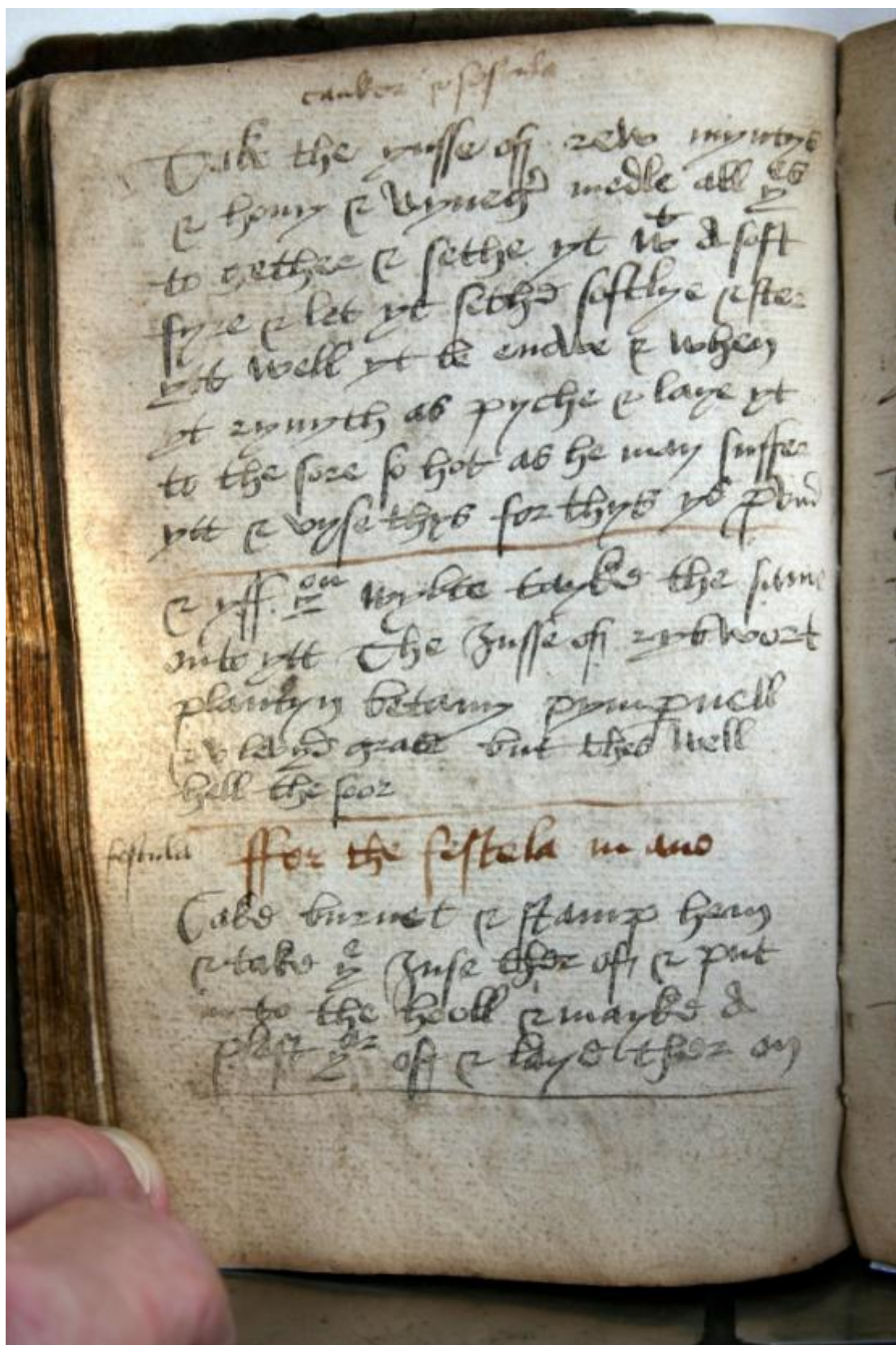
Take lene bacon & drye yt opon a hot tylston & mayke a powder y^{ar} on & washe the sore clene & cast the poudr y^{ar} apone

Recipe 145
Canker

To dystroye a canker or felone

Take jm & gj of plantyn & stamp yt smalle & put to hym a lytyll honye & powder of brend allem then put all thes in a lytell venecre & lay yt on the sore xij ourys & thys dystroye both canker & felon & euys thys





B8 010

Recipe 146

To kell kanker or felon

Take y^e yoke of an eyge & oulde scheys small mayd in pouder & ster ytt to gether tell ytt be thyke as dowe & then laye yt to the sore & use thys thell y^e felon be dede & yff theme may gett sypys do a lyttel ther to & yt welbe the bett^r

Recipe 147
wound festors
cankers

a poud^r for canker fester or wounds

Take wormuod hunnysouckle & wusset leke stampe y^{am} smale & put ther to honye & make y^{ar} of a trete & use yt

Recipe 148

-----for the -----canker festula

Take the yusse of rew myntys & hony & wyneger medle all y^{es} to gether & sethe yt w^t a soft fyre & let yt sethe softly & ster ytt well yt be enowe & when yt rynyth as pyche & laye yt to the sore so hot as he may suffer yt & uyse thys for thys ypvñ

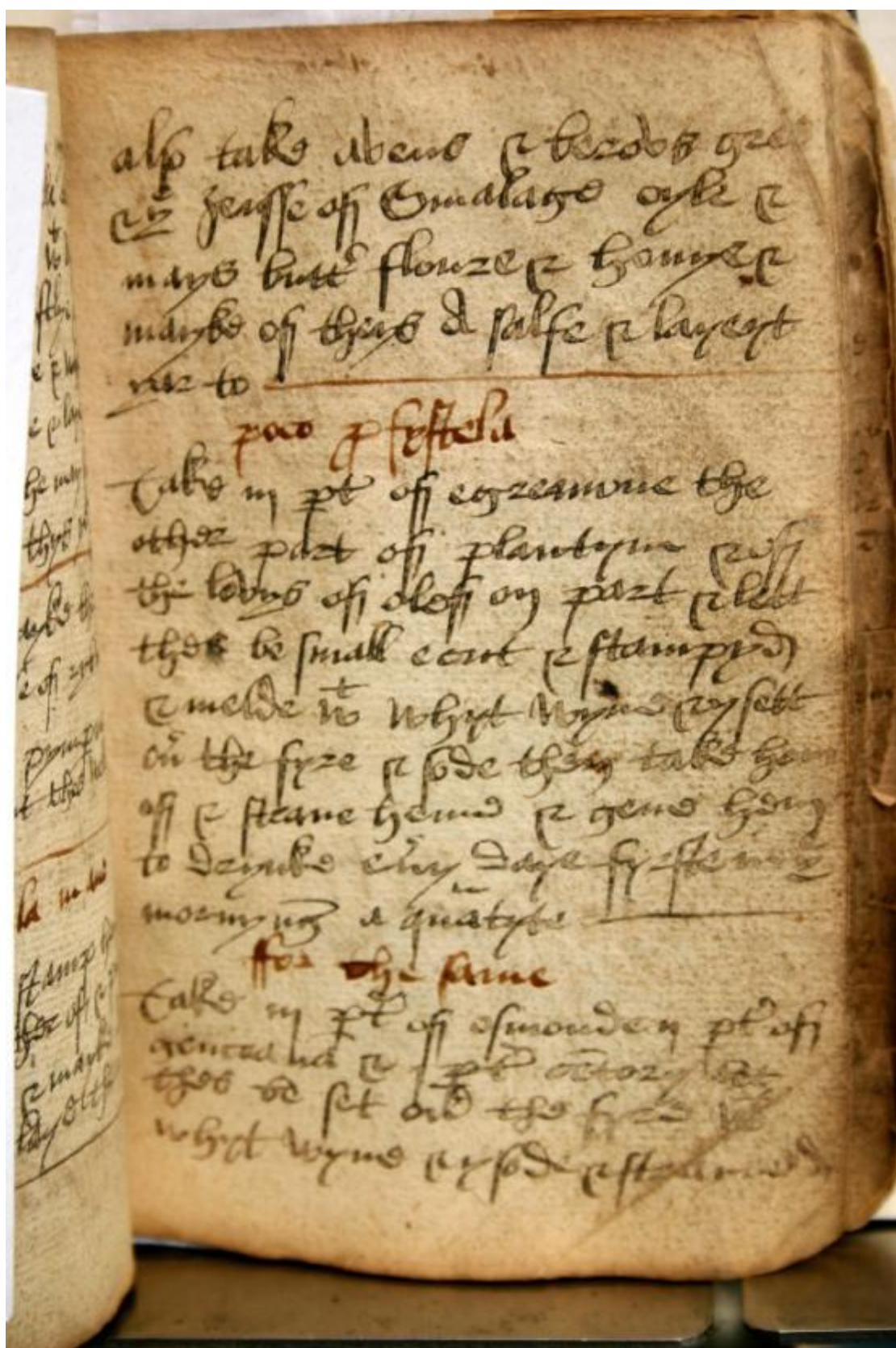
& yff y wylte tayke the same onto ytt the juse of rybwort plantyn betany pypnell & v lavyd gras but thes well hell the sour

B8 010/B9

Recipe 149
festulas

ffor the festela in ano

Take burnet & stamp hem & take y^e juse ther of & put into the hool & mayke a plaster y^{ar} of & laye ther on also take avens & berous gres & y^e juisse of smallage oyle & may butt^r floure & honye & mayke of theys a salfe & laye yt yar to



B9 001

Recipe 150

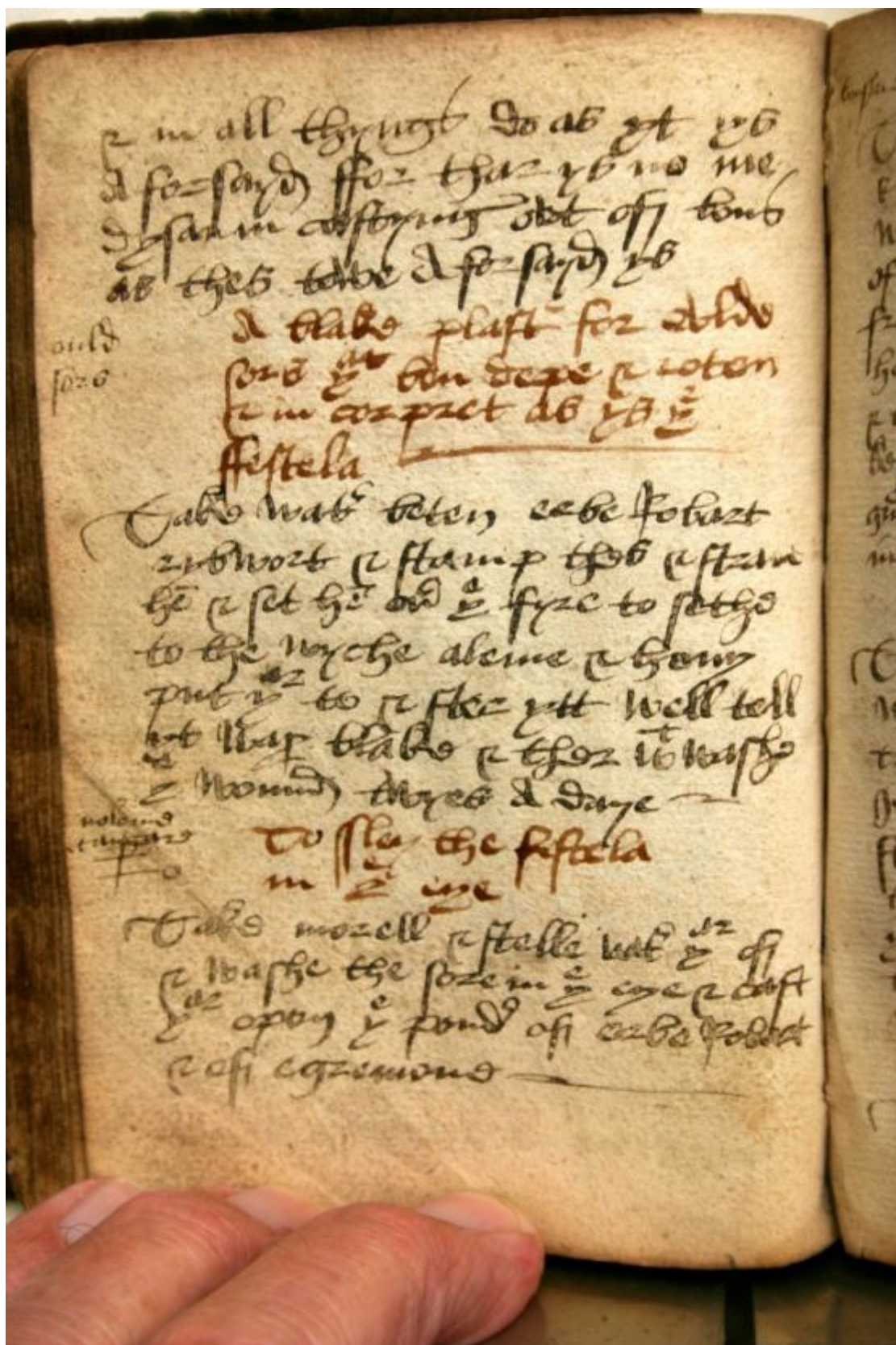
poco p fystela

Take iij pt of egremone the other part of plantain & of the levys of olef on part & let thes be small & cut & stampyd & melde w^t whyt wyne & y sett ou^r the fyre & sode then take hem of & strane heme & geue hem to drynke ev^{ry} day fyrste in y^e mornyng a quantyte

Recipe 151

ffor the same

Take iij pt of osmonden pt of genciana & j centory let thes be set ou^r the fyre w^t whyt wyne & y ys aforsayd ffor thar ys no medysan castyng out of bons as thes towe



B9 002

Recipe 152

as ys y ffestula

a blake plaster for ould sors yat ben depe & roten & incorpret ouldsore

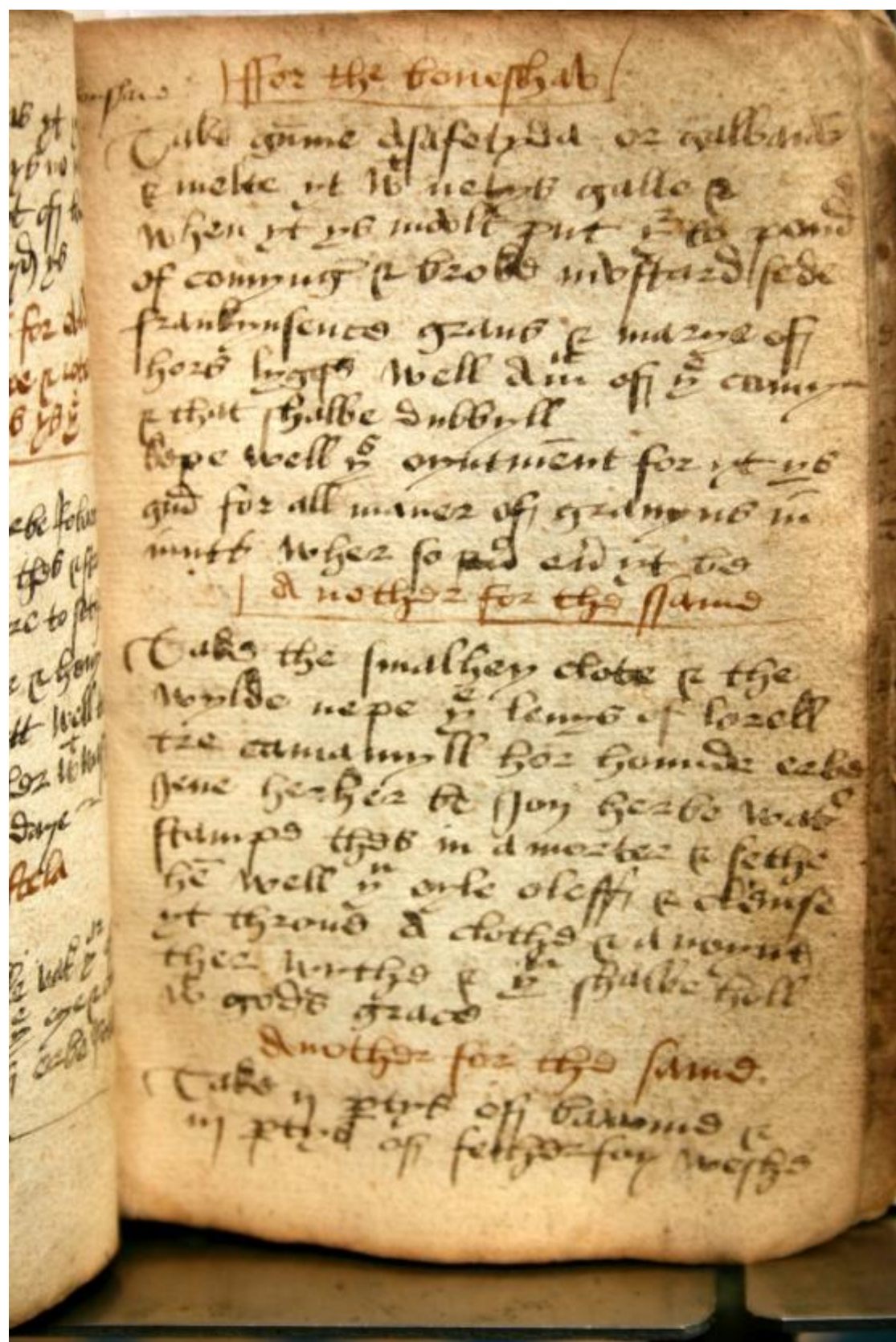
Take wat^r beten erbe robart rybwort & stampe thes & stran hem & set hem over a fyre to sethe to the wyche aleme & hony put y^{ar} to & sterytt well tell yt wax blake & ther w^t washe ye wounds thrice a daye

Recipe 153

.....

To slei the festula in y^e eye

Take morell & stelle water y^{ar} of & wash the sore in y^e eye & cast y^{ar} opon y^e poud^r of erb robart & of egremone



B9 003

Recipe 154

.....

ffor the boneschav

Take gume assafetyda or galbanv & melte yt w^t netys gall & when yt ys moult
put y^{er} to poud^r of comyng & broke mustard sede frankynsence grans &
marye of hors lyg --- well an of y^e comyn & that shalbe dubbyll – kepe well
ys oyntment for yt ys gud for all maner of grauyns in muts wher so ever yt be

Recipe 155

another for the same

Take smalhey clote & the wylde nepe ye levys of lorell tre camamyl hor
hound erbe jeue herbe jon herbe wat^r stamp thes in a morter & sethe he well
yⁿ oyle oleff & clense yt throue a clothe & a noynt ther wythe & yⁿ shalbe holl
w^t gods grace

another for the same

Take ij ptys of bawme iij ptys of fetherfoy weshe thes clene & stampe theme
temp hem w^t stall ale & let y^e syke drynke her of fyrst & last & vys thys y^e
oyntment w^t y^e plast^r that cmyth no aft^r & w^t vi plasters & ix tyms drynkyng at
the fordest he shalbe hole upon warandyse

The oyntment

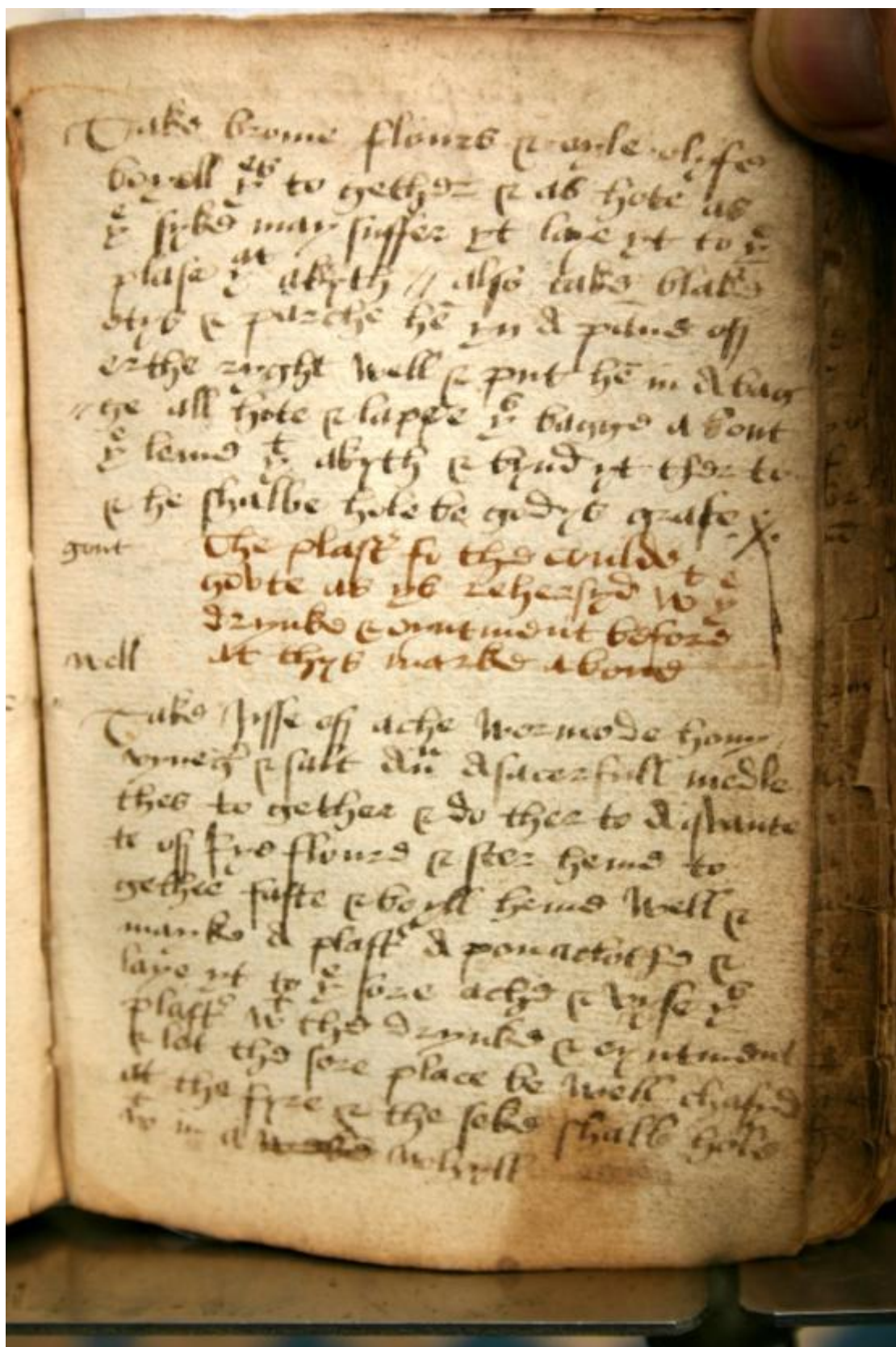
Take ij ptys of popeler levys & iij ptys of fetherfoye washe thes & stampe
hem smalle & do here to clarefyd butt^r & a lyttel oyle olefe & boyell y^{es}
together then strane ytt into a vessell of glas & lete y^e syke anynt hem y^{ar} w^t
a anst a fyere of charkolle & when heys well anynt anynted make heme a
plast^r as welbe sayd at y^s marke

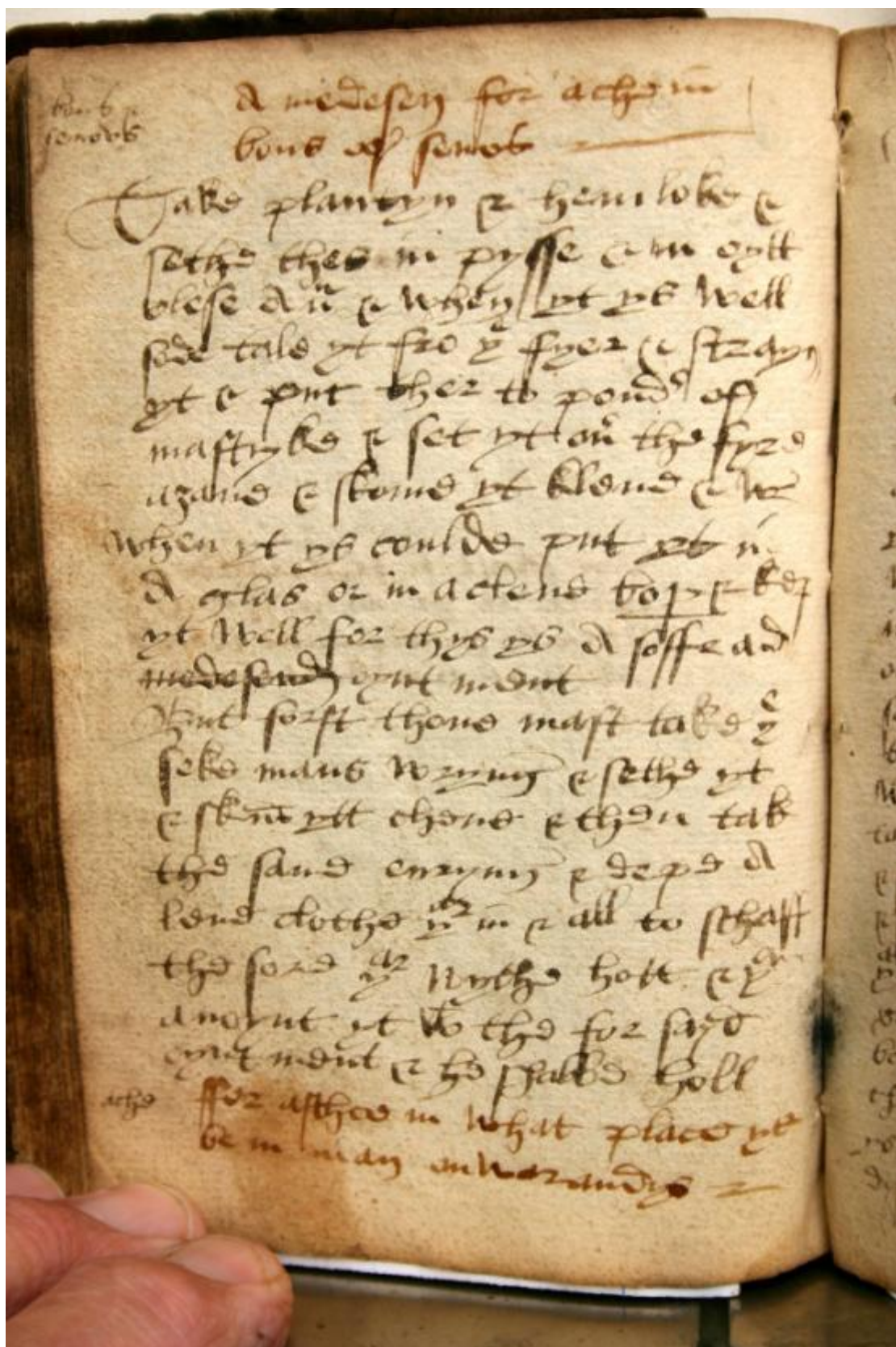
thes cleve & stumps thems &
 temp hem w. shall ale & let y
 Gyle & ynde the of first & last
 & w. this is ointment w.
 plast that cynth w. ist & w. by
 plasters & y. w. w. w. w.
 at the first he shall be hole & w.
 w. w. w.

The ointment

Take y. p. of popeler levis &
 y. p. of feather fone w. w.
 the & stumps hem small & do
 here to charofid butt & alyt
 orle oleis & w. w. w. to geth.
 then straine itt in to a vessell
 of glas & let y. p. w. w. w.
 hem w. w. w. w. w. w. w.
 charbole & w. w. w. w. w. w.
 w. w. w. w. w. w. w. w. w.
 a plast ad w. w. w. w. w. w.
 w. w. w.

there y. playteze for f
 the p. w.





B9 004

Recipe 157

ther ys a plastere for the same

Take brome flours & oyle olyfe boyell y^{es} together & as hote as y^e syke may suffer yt laye yt to y^e plase y^{at} akyth // also take blake otys & parche he yn a pane of erthe ryght well & put hein a bagge all hot & lappe y^e bagge a bout y^e leme y^r akyth & bynd yt ther to & he shalbe hole be godys grase

B9 005

Recipe 158
well

The plast^r for the coude gout as ys rehersyd w^t y^e drynke & ointment gout
before at thys marke above

Take juss of ache wormode hony vinegar & salt an a sacerfull medle thes together & do ther to a quantete of rye flours & ster heme to gether faste & boyle heme well & mayke a plast^r a pon a clothe & laye yt to y^e sore ache & vyse y^e plaster w^t the drynke & oyntment & let the sore place be well chafyd at the fyre & the seke shalbe hole w^t in a whyll

B9 006

Recipe 159
bons & senous

a medesyn for ache in bone or senos

Take plantyn & hemloke & sethe thes in pyssse & in oyll oleffe & when yt ys well sode take yt fro y^e fyre & strayn yt & put ther to poud^r of mastyke & set yt ou^r the fyre a & skome yt klene & when yt ys coude put yt in a glas or in a clene box & kep yt well for thys ys a sofferand ointment but ferst thoue mast take y^e seke mans wryng & sethe yt & skem ytt chene & then tak the same euryng & depe a lene clothe y^{ar} in & all to schaff the sore y^{ar} wythe hote & y^{an} anoynt yt w the for sayd oyntment & he shalbe holl

Take Warmlode sage and an. i. m.
 of edmonty lebrs of the bachelors
 an. i. m. in copoloff - che. If it
 off comyn a good hand full of whet bay
 itens yfsted ne take all in eching & y
 brayd. then in a mortar & lhyll & make
 pond off comyn. 22 to in pond lnt not
 to small then take & put all thes in to
 a quart of whet wyne or y possy & let
 it sethe the space of a quart of a well
 way & when it is well lghed put it
 in to a woking bagge & esahs brouse
 out the leas & off & all hot lay it to y
 sore & this vis y or in. time & it alway
 will it a day in the same leas & 20
 woking out of the bagge & dand then
 take clous hamp & sede wiffort duns
 & stampe it small in a mort. We shall all
 & stans it theonly & a clous & take off
 it. mltis in sponfull off the pond off
 greene & set it on the fire & let
 be gone to taylor & let the sebo drybe
 the off all alquna woking the plast
 is laid on & the shall be hole on woking
 dyff for & luyth ven off tyme & byd

Recipe 160
ache

ffor asche in what place y^e be in man on warandys

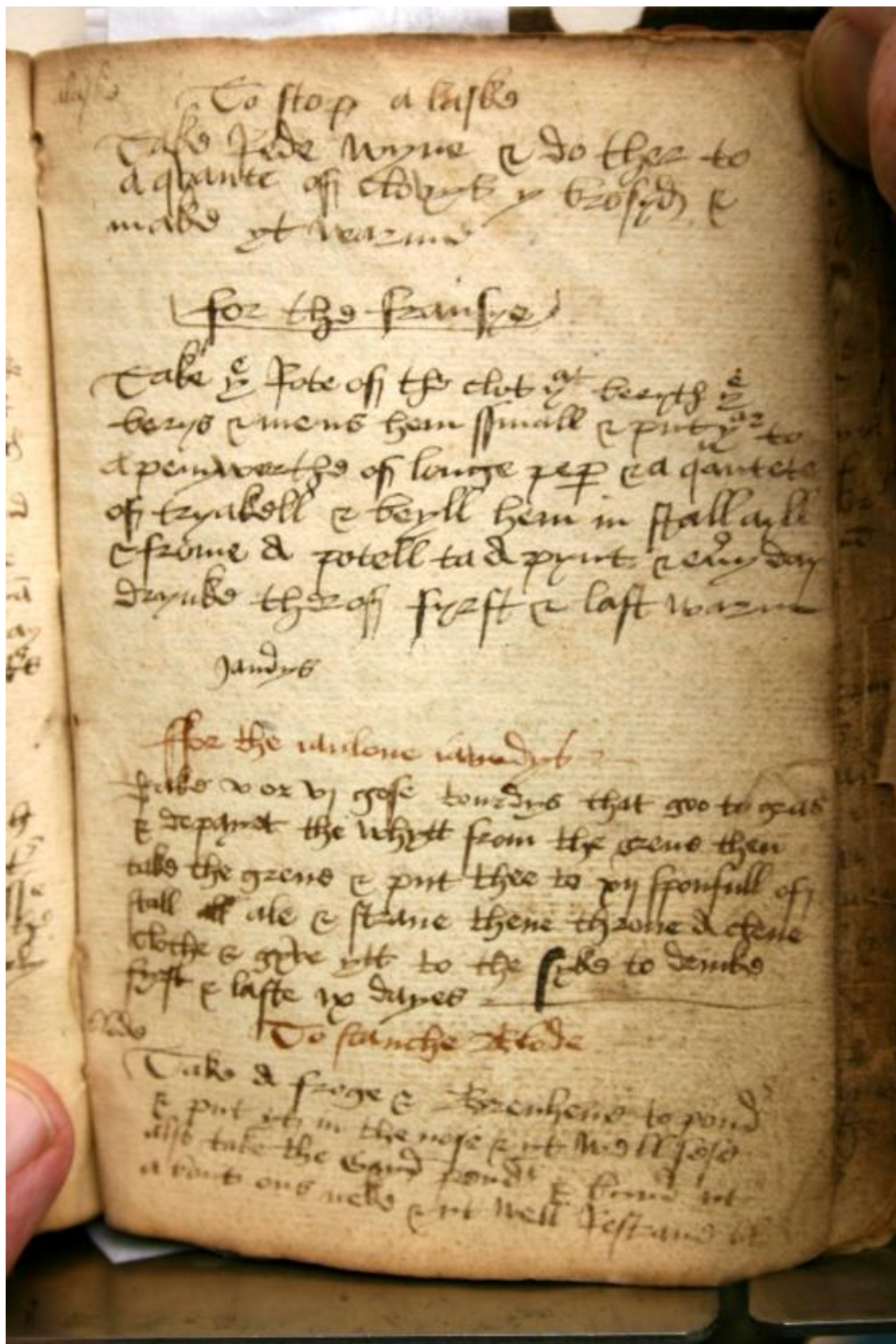
Take wormvode sage and an .j . m^o rede ment levys of the bay tre an p m iij
crops of reue .dijl of comyn a gud handfull of whet bran clene & yseftyd y^e
take all y^es erbys & ybraye them in a mortar a lytyll & make poud^r of comyng
y^{ar} to in poud^r but not to small then take & put all thes in to a quart of whyt
wyne or pysse & lete ytt sethe the space of a quart^s of a myll way & when yt
ys well boilyd put yt into a wolyn bagge & esalye brouse out the lycor y^r of &
all hot lay yt to y^e sore & thys vys ij or iij tymes & at altyme boyll yt an in the
same lecor y^{at} ys wrong out of the bagge // and then take clene hemp sede
wassyt clene & stampe yt small in a mort^r w^t stall all & strane yt throuhe a
clothe & take of y^{at} mylke iij sponfull of the poud^r of greyne & set yt ou^r the
fyer tyll yt begene to boyle & let the seke drynke ther of att altymes whene the
plast^r ys layd on & he shall be hole on warn dysse for y^a hayth ben of tymes
pvyd

B9 008

Recipe 161
an postume
p fleche

To dystroye a poste an a steche in what place so ev^r yt be

Take ye rote of holyhocke & wache yt clene & sethe yt in water
tyll yt be tender n put out ye lecore in to a vessell ye lynesede
fenygrekean & loke ye have twys so moche of y^a as of the
rote be wyht then sethe ye lynesede & y^e fenegreke in ye same
water y^e y^a was sod in & let yt sethe well tell yt rope & ryme as
duth berdlyme ye stampe rot & do yt y^{ar} to & put ther to a
quanyte of venegr & a gud handfull of barly mele & medyll all
these to gether & frye yt in bahogs grese y^a make y^{ar} of a
plaster & so hot of ye seke may suffer lay yt to y^e sore
with in ix plasters he shalbe hole as yt ys pvyd



Recipe 162
kreke

ffor y^e Creke a troue medesene & well pvyd

Take y^e rote of y^e gret clott & washe heme clene & stampe hem in a mort^r & wryng ovt the jusse & w^t ys jusse anoynt the creke anst y^e fyre & he shalbe hole w^t in iij noyntyns sakerly for thys hayth ben pvyd

B9 009

Recipe 163
a laske

To stop a laske

Take rede wyne & do ther to a quante of clovys y brosyd & make yt warme

Recipe 163a

For the fransyed

Take y^e rote of the clot y^{at} beryth y^e berys & mens hem ssmall & put y^{ar} to a penyworth of longe pep & a quantete of tryakell & boyll hem in stall ayl & frome a potell ta a pynte & evy day drynke ther of fyrst & last warme

Recipe 164
Jandys

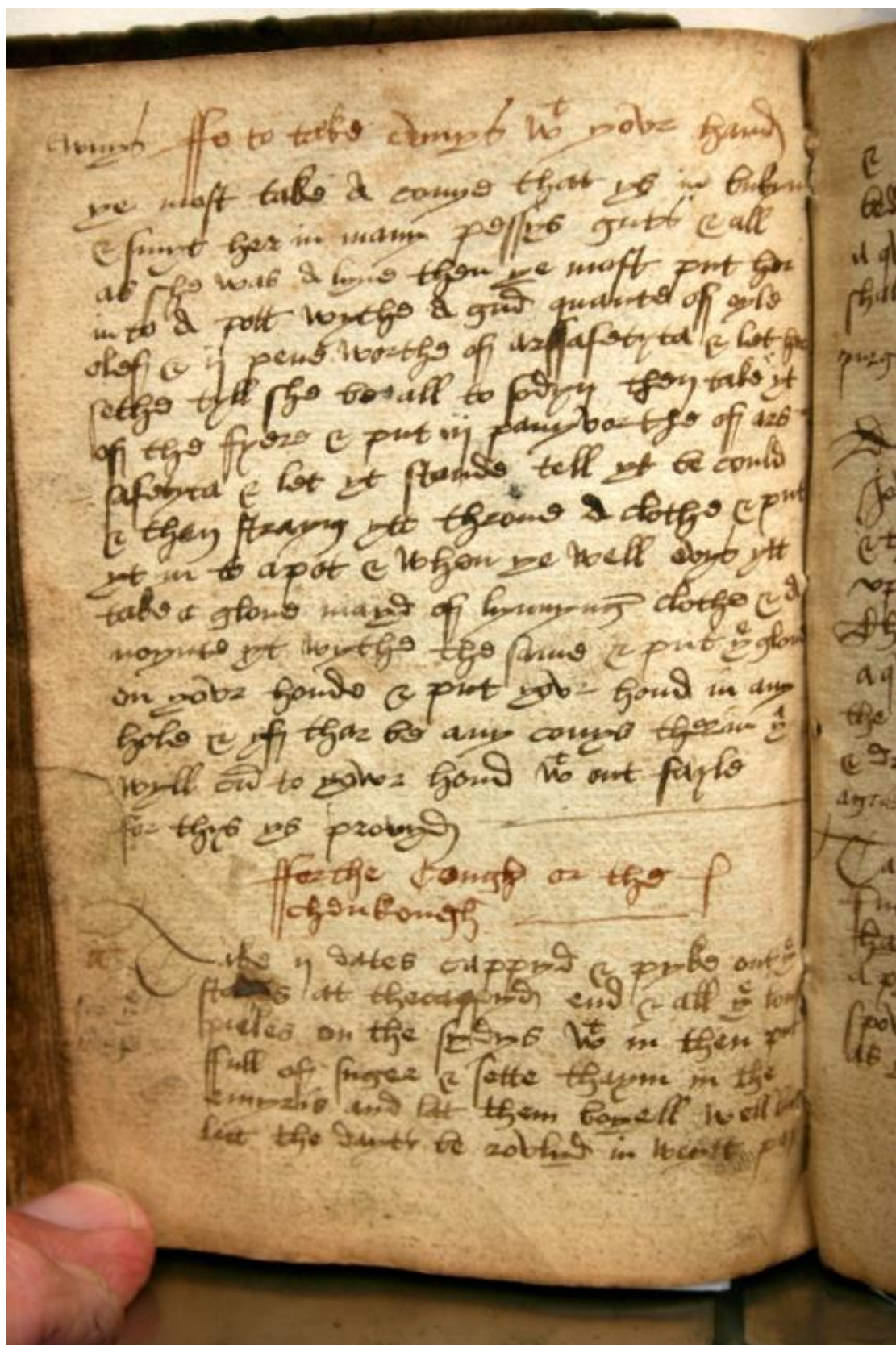
ffor the iauloue iavndys

Take v or vi gosse bourdies that goo to gras & depayrat the whytt from the gren then take the grene & put ther to xij sponfull of stalle ale & strane thene throue a clene clothe & gyve ytt to the syke to drynke fyrst & last ix dayes

Recipe 165
blode

To stanche blode

Take a froge & bren heme to pouder & put yt in the nose & yt well sese also take thesayd poudr & bynd yt about ons neke & yt well rystrane blode



B9 010

Recipe 166

.....

ffor to take conhys w^t yovr hand

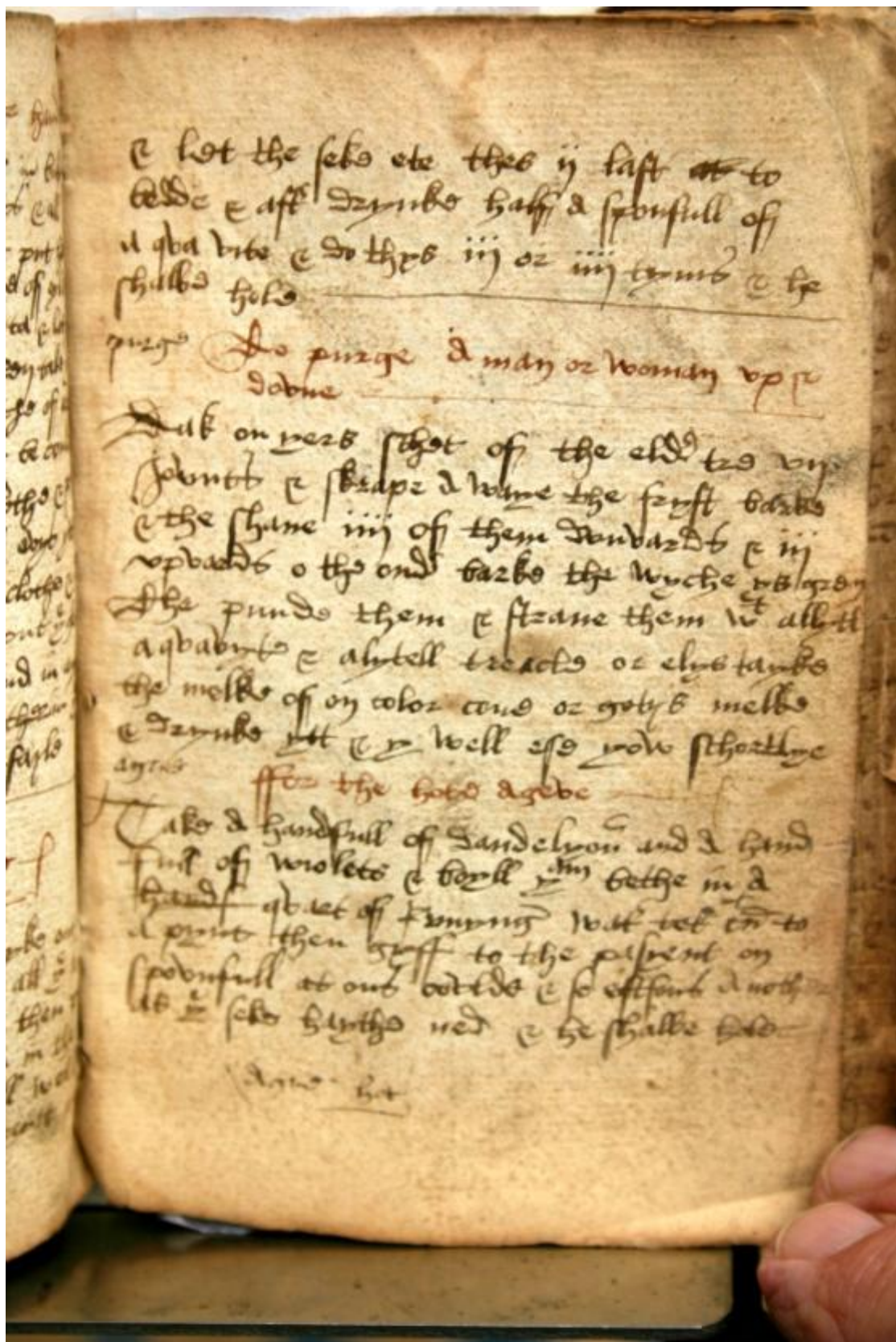
ye most take a conye that ys in bukyng & smyt her in many pessys guts & all as she was a lyve then ye most put her into a pott wythe a gud quarter of oyle olaf & ij peneworthe of arsafetyta & let her sethe tyll she be all sodyn then take yt of the fyer & put ij penyworthe of arssafetyta & let yt stande tell yt be could & then strayn yt throue a clothe & put yt in to a pot & when ye well evys ytt take a glove mayd of lynnyng clothe & anoynte yt wythe the same & put y^e glove on your honde & put your hond in any hole & yf thar be any coneys ther in y^e wyll cm to your hond w^t out fayle for thys ys provyd

Recipe 167

for ye koufe

ffor the cough or the chenkough

Take ij datescappyd & pyke out at the cappyd end & all ye picles on the w^t in then put full of suger & sett thaym in the emyris & lat them boyell well but let the daytt bethese ij last to bedde & afr^r drynke half a sponfull of aqua vite & do thys iij or iiij tymes & he shalbe hole



B10 001

Recipe 168
purge

To purge a man or woman vp & downe

Tak on yers schet of the eld^r tre vij jevnts & skrape awaye the fryst barke & the shave iiij of them dvnwards & iij vpwards & the ond^r barke the whyche ys grene the punde them & strane them w^t allytl aqua vitae & a lytell treacle or elys tayke the melke of on color coue or gotys melke & drynke yt & y well ese yov shortlye

Recipe 169
.....

ffor the hote ageue

Take a hand full of dandelyon^s & a handfull of violets & boyll y^{am} bethe in a quart of runyng wat^r tel yt cm to a pynt then gyff to the pasyent on sponfull at ons covlde & so estfous a nother as y^e seke haythe ned & he shalbe hole

I conzed sinter of Bristoll
 hayer hath laden one last
 of cooles - xv. s. salted tundes
 eight last of lym one of sea
 card off tundes 1000 of
 wood three thousand tundes
 & two hundred of Grist
 prise & one turt of wye to
 be conueide to padstowe
 in cornwall in the sondaie of
 Bristoll Thomas Vesie
 yaff the 17th day of febr
 Anno dno 1678 dandi sept
 John Jure Bage in y^r
 1678

B10 002

Recipe 170

Lenerd Sumter of Brestoll haper hathe laden one last of cooled – xv .g. sawed
bourdes eight last of lyme one g. cardeff bourdes twoo m^b of woode
thre thowsande trenes two hundred of Irishe frese & one butof wyne to be
connveide to padstowe in cornwall in the Sonndai of Bristol
l Thomas Vesie Mast^r the iij daye of Fabruare
Anno dm Eduardi Sext vj

+ John Ince Born in yr 1675



B10 003

Recipe 171
pestilence

ffor the plag

Capi i

Take bole armoniae q^r berra sage litta..... p.saype electe / ob/ bete them all in poud^r fine & forto drynke at ons take . iij. dj. wye then take a sponful of wat^r of pympernell a / sponfull turmentyll a sponfull /ditayne . i. Sponfull / ditayne .i. sponfull / of dragons .i. sponfull of winegre .i. sponfull or mor tryacle as moche a hasyll nvte / put y^{am} all together & gyve the pacyent to drynke coulede in the quantyte afore advuyd he be infecte y^e purgacion where the make a great plast^r of cala.am clene clenسد & lay theron

Recipe 172
pestilence

ffor to make aqua vite for y^e postylence

Capi ii

Take turmeytyll // scabias / remperne detayne dragons // tansye / thais Burssa // pastoris // of iche a handfull Then take sanguis draconis i Sedeaff i calamus aromaticus . soulsefer vmme i & stell them in aqua & drynke every day two sponefull & he be hole

Recipe 173
fleme

ffor to make aqua vitae for ye fleme

Cap iij

Take rosmary tyme sage cyentes organvm of a handfull take avnes sede iij lycorys ij speknoll bete all thes together & stell them in the second dystellacion & lett the flematyke man drynke thar of evy day a sponfull fastyng yt ys gud for the splene for horsenes in the throte also

Sacro ii & Epetholl i & bete all
 thes together & stell them in the second
 distillacio & lett the steamy be may
 drinke of end daye a spoonfull
 fastynge it be good for the spleene &
 for all heynes in the throte also
 X faber *for to make Aquavite for the*
stomach & the liver
 Take yme Elebens niger wende
 tyme & petimus same Rose maye
 & stell them in Aquavite but
 lett the Aquavite be the selfe & fore
 lett the therd tyme put in thes
 herbes & so that thes be of red
 wine or of clared & then lett it
 pagent take thes off & then lett it
 dry to drinke till the be hold
 X faber *for the Agone*
 Take bozage a handfull hasted tonge
 thes or fouze tenes tyme a quartice
 pcesch 200 iiij or iii cotes of fenell
 ij or iii wasshe & scrape them cleane
 take awaye & ptho. & boyle them
 in a quartite quart of water & put
 wene gre the to to yt to tart of
 wenece & so boyle them stell &

B10 004

Recipe 174
faver

ffor to make aquavite for the fever quarten Cap *iiij*

Take tyme elebrens niger wylde tyme & petimus bame rosemary cene stell them in aquavite but Se that aquavite be twyse steld before & at the thyrd tyme put in thes herbes & se that thor lyes be ofred wyne or of claryd & then lett y^e pacyent take ther of ij sponful evry day to drynke tyll he be hole

Recipe 175

ffor the agoue Cap *v*

Take borage a handfull hartes tonge thre or four leves tyme a quantite persley rots *iiij* or *iiij* rotes of fenell *ij* or *iiij* wasshe & scrape them clene & take awaye y^e pythe & boyle them in a quart of water & put wynegre ther to yt be tart of y^e wynecer & so boyle then stell & do ther to huny tyll yt have y^{er} of a tast & so boyle awhyle & then geve yt to the pacient blode warme to drunke evenyng & mornyng

do t'for to him till yt hand ^{be} off
a taft & so thyll alyvyle & they gene
ytt to the p'cient, blode vermed to
Drinke enenynge & mor nyng.

for to bin the sack of
vans Tap vj

Subs dugeth thesme manerall ytt great
worme & sette them in a luttell onle
of asse & a luttell off tyconetee that the
pedlonzes haue to sell & haue ytt to the
wounde. y. Sayes a man remened

1020 For swelling of a node on by
I also likes with the all the facion & shump
all together in one gese & fare from bel
e have itt to the end

fessels

for to heall the fessels

Take opposumit wyne & on le ffiffoes

& hony & make omentent the wylde

a lytell. m^ccc^{xviii}. Serueth the iij pates

the y^ett^r y^e meynable yt ingendeth

fleshe yt scheweth & fessula & many orso

forre

90. force. A good sapienter
take in peng weicht effentende
p. peng weicht off cene & p. peng we
ft off Gedmony & fuffe a quist on Co

B10 005

Recipe 176
senous

ffor to knytt senewes & vans

Cap vi

Take angell twyches men call ytt great worms & sethe theym in a lyttel oyle olyffe & a lyttell of jpreonesto that the pedloures have to sell & laye ytt to the wound ix dayes & nev^r remeved

Recipe 177
yerde

ffor swellyng of y^e yerde

ca . vij

Take lekes wythe all the facron & stampe all together w^t bors grese & frye them well & laye ytt to the evyll

Recipe 178
festella

ffor to heall the fystela

cap viij

Take oppoponat wyne & oyle of roses & huny & mayke..... oyntement ther wythe a lyttel myrre sercocolle the iiij parts them ytt ys meruayle yt ingend^r the flesshe yt helythe y^e festula & many other sores

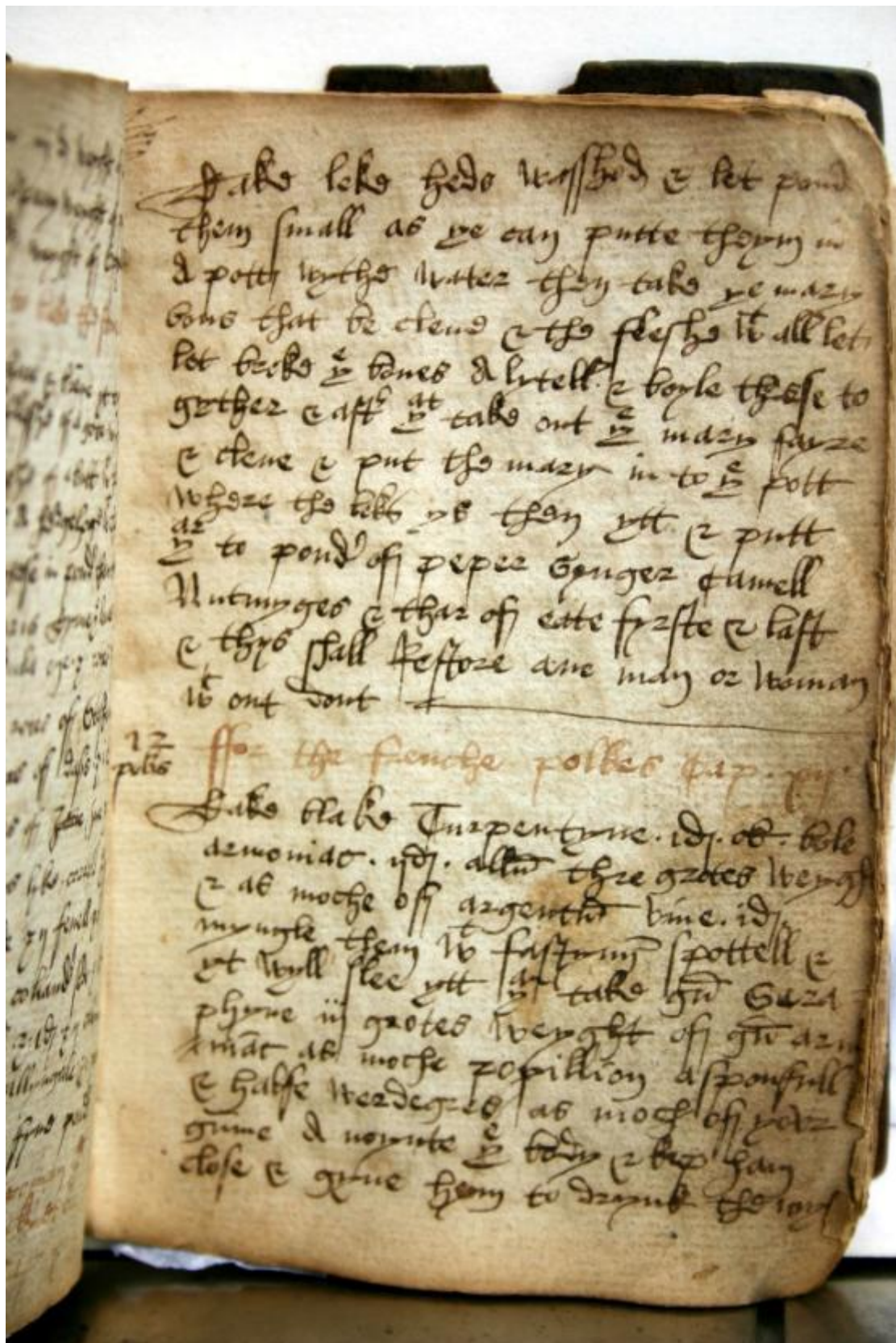
Recipe 179
purge

a good laxatyve

ca ix

Take iiij penywyght of reubarbe & x penye weyght of cene & .x. peny weyt of scamoney & halfe a quatron of safforn iiij dj weyght of pouder walter idj peny weyght of pouder walter dj. weyght of spyekrnarde

Saffron in weight of some powder
 walter in weight of powder
 walter. id. weight of Spikenard
 10
 flans *for to take the stone away*
 Take a hare & brene it to get for
 & also the fleshe of a goate with the
 blode of fleshe of a bull & the blode
 the fleshe of a lodgehog & the blode
 & make all these in pond then take
 capillaris venezis Syne & lenes & fott
 of pteleppendula eye. & zotes of
 gladstone & ii zotes of Stephanus
 & by zotes flours of daisies & i Sparge
 with & ii & bezes of Zane (Jue & y.
 the bezes that is like coriell & stone
 of my persely seide & y fenell & i
 carabay seide & i d. cohand seide & i d.
 geet & i d. annolwell & i d. & y calenad
 aconate ens. & i d. gallingale & i d. gong
 & i make all these in fyne pond
*for any man or woman to
 be washed with it
 to take the stone away*



off Galles often for yt will drye
 them out off the body & off ^{as} be any
 vnder soze & well not hele cast ^{as}
 vponne pound of azerome ^{substant}
 but yt is paynfull & popilion
 wyll take the payne & the men
 aft ^{as} hehng .ij. oz. .ij. pces take
 out off scabbes & grete sores on ^{as}
 body & in the soles off the fete & will
 not hele for no medecyn. they take
 & rote Blecom & and & pare it
 fayre & bette yt as small as ye
 can then take fayre synages
 fresh & bete them strongly to
 gether & anoynt the place in
 .ij. oz. .ij. dayes & yt welbe sole
 & I have seue men broken out in
 face full of small quaddles like
 shadd & that have I flane sold
 in ^{the} pound of almy & weedegres
 & popilion

B10 006

Recipe 180
stone

ffor to breke the stone ca..x

Take a hare & brene yt togyther & also the flesshe of a gote wythe the blode the fleshe of a bull w^t the blode the flyshe of a hedgehog w^t the blode & make all thes in poud^r then take capilleris veneris thyme y^e leves y^e Rots of pheleppendula one rotes of gladwyne 3 ii rotes of Stehaneur 3 vij rotes flours of dasis 3i sparge wyth 3 ij y^e beres of Jue 3 ij the beres that ys lyke correll ye stons of ytt persely sede 3 ij fenell .3i caraway sede 3i dj colliander sede 3 dj geet 3 dj aumowell 3i dj 3ij calomynes aromaticus 3i gallyngale 3i. genger 3i make all thes in fyne powder

Recipe 181

ffor any man or woman y^{at} ys sore wasted by syckness or

Cap xi

Take leke heds wasshed & let powder them small as ye can putte theym in a pott wythe water then take y^e mary bone that be clene & the fleshe w^t all let lot breke y^e bones a lyttell & boyle these together & after y^{at} take out y^e mary fayre & clene & put the mary into y^e pott where the leks ys then ytt & puttt y^{ar} to poud^r of peper gynger camell nutmyges & thar of eat fyrste & last & thys shall Restore ane man or woman w^t out dout

B10 007

Recipe 182

ffor the frenche polkes Cap xij

Take blake turpentyne idj . bole armoniac . ijdj allum three grotes weyght & as moche of argentum vine idj myngle them w^t fastyng spottell & yt wyll slee ytt y^{an} take gud saraphyue iij grotes weyyght of gud armoniac as moche popillion a sponfull & halfe werdegres as moch of your gūme a noynte y^e body & kep ham close & gyve hem to drynk the wych off galles often for yt wyll dryve them out of the bode & yff y^{ar} be any vnkynd sore y^{at} well not hele cast y^{ar} opone powder of cyrcurye sublimat but yt ys paynfull & popilyon wyll take the payne & sumen after y^{ar} helyng . ij . or . iij . yere breke out of scabbes & grett sores on y^{ar} body & in the soles of ther fete & wyll not hele for no medycen // then take y^e rotte clecompana & pare it fayre & lette yt as small as ye can then take fayre swyns gres fresh & bete them strongly to gether & anoynt the place in . ij . or . iij . dayes & yt welbe hole & J have sene men broken out in y^e skabs & that have i held with ye powder of alum & werdegres & popilion

12 For the yche. cap. p. m.
 Take also Gope of the yche in
 bete them together in water &
 anoynte you ther to wher yt p. m.
 24 For to knit wounds in v. e. y.
 Take thought than be to p. m.
 Take such catles tynles & hangeth
 in the ychell tree & the p. m. of red
 doctes Ize they & day them to
 pond & geue the patient to drink
 in v. e. dayes & yt well knit
 yt.

In ornament for all manner
 of aches cap. p. m.
 Take aquart of met onell & a
 handfull of Motherwode a hand
 full of wormewood a handfull
 of bayes leues stamp them &
 put them to ydow onle & the
 gull of a ope & as much
 of aquabite as the gull &
 of yze them all together

B10 009

Recipe 183
yeche

ffor the ytche

Cap . xiiij

Take blake sops bors grese bete theym togyther in water & anoynte you ther
w^t wher yt ytcheth

Recipe 184
knet bons

ffor to knet bons in v. or vj. days thoughs thay be broken
a sonder

Cap. xiiij

Take suche cattles tayles y^{at} hangeth in the hasel tre & the sede of red dockes
drye them & bray them to poud^r & gyve the pacient to drink in vj dayes &
ytt well knet ytt

Recipe 185
a noyntment

an oyntment for all maner of aches

Cap - xv

Take a quart of met oyl & a handfull of sothenwode a handfull of
wormewod a handfull of baye leves stamp them & put them to your oyle &
the gaul of a oxe & as mvche of aquavite as the gaul & frye them all together
& put them in a boks & a navnt wher the sor ys & he shalbe holle

a put thyng in a bott
 to a newnt No 2 the 10
 26 the phalbe bott =

26
Nover
Nover for all manner of canons
or feoffments or other free tenures

Take a quart of Rhenish wine
new lettee put in a pint thereof
a handfull of Sage & a handfull of
Rheishenes & a handfull of
a handfull of Rader and Rosemary and good
pece of fische alling toke them all together
well & they straine them & put them
in a glas & ther wythe wythe the force
It shall make y^e hole

for satisfaction of the mother
day

Take one sheaf in spanish gird
passing it take one & pass it
over a shew to

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B10 010

Recipe 186
a water

a water for all maner of cankers or festela or olde sore
Cap. xvj

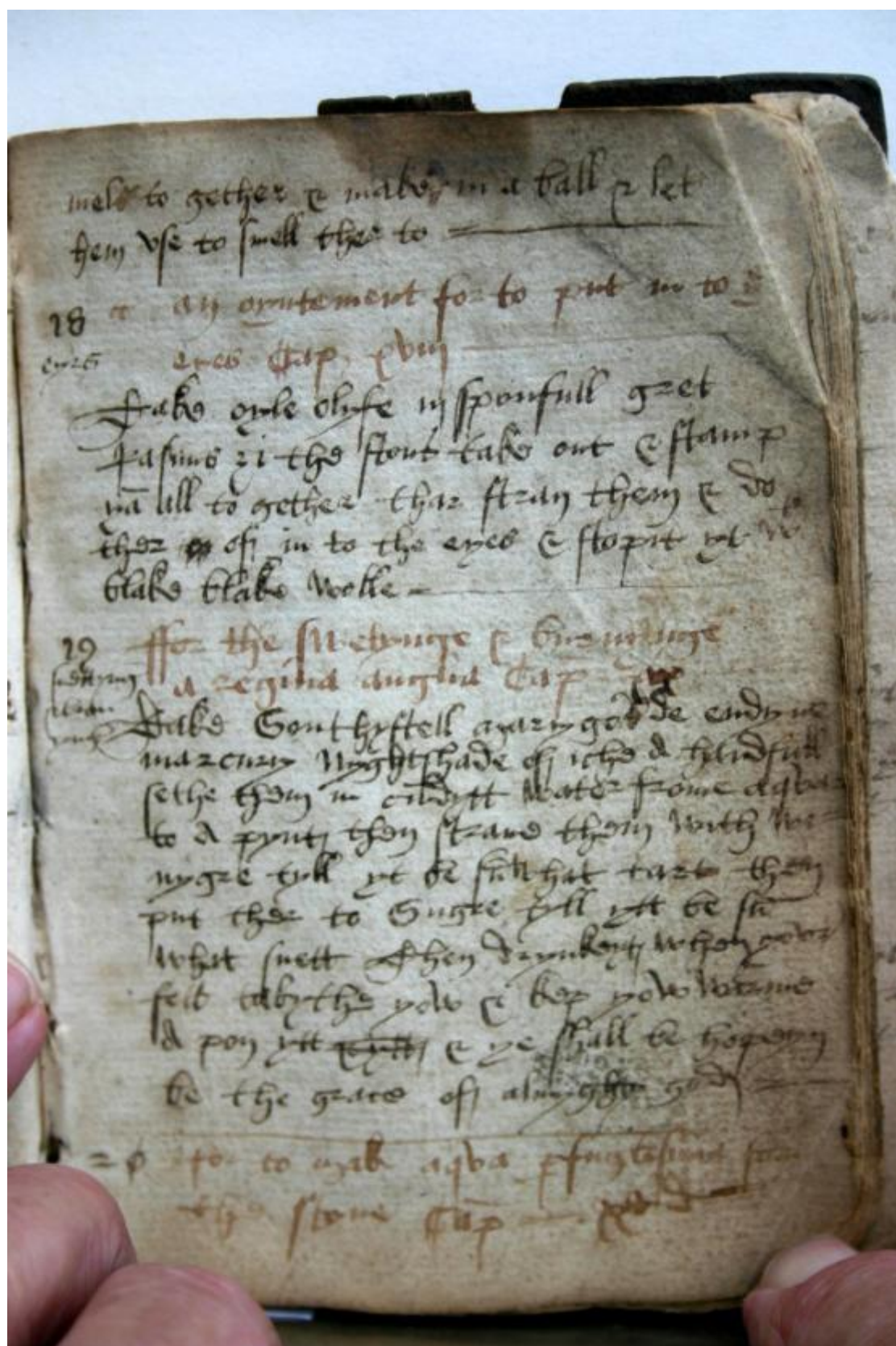
Take a quart of neue taner wose y^{at} was nev^r lether put in & put ther to a handefull of sw blosomes & a gud pece of roche alum boyle them all together well & then strayne them & put them in a glas & ther wythe wayshe thy sore & yt shall mak yt hole

Recipe 187
mother

for suffucacyon of the mother Cap --- xvij

.....
.....

Take asfetida oppentibaicus & castor of eche & galbanum steped in winegre & so let y^s & so lat thys galbanum be layd on y^e cols & let hem smell ther to & the other iij aforsayd mel to gether & make in a ball & let hem use to smell theer to



Take Saffron per sech alisind
 Gramell Popinay Prime Pope fennel
 Sage & Beany wyrt & yarz yob
 Dio damp abenteb Drigam
 Wrolatt long detese ayarden hee
 Gallendyne rede aynt. pellemonte
 peretorn of e primrose tenand
 Camam to feth or foye worndbod
 of eche a handfitt thus thorn small
 & put them to the second distilling
 of aquabute & let them stepe ^{as} in
 all on dawe & myght they stell ⁱⁿ water
 alwe w soft freze they take long
 peper yd. Take peper yd. Whort
 peper yd. Saffron yd. Colenis yd.
 wbt myges o fenamoy yd. Ceugese yd.
 yd. actis yd. Oranes yd. Lave of
 alho drestons coenels 25. and yd.
 sed of yche my 2 & all thes make be
 in powder & put them in an aquabute
 that is abno stehde they latt for
 low my stehde all myghte on the mor
 & put itt in a glas & soft free

B11 001

Recipe 188
eyrs

an oyntment for to put into y^e eyes Cap xviii

Take oyle olyfe iij sponfull gret rasins 3i the stons take out & stamp ya all together thar stran them & do ther of in to the eyes & stopute yt with blake woll

Recipe 189

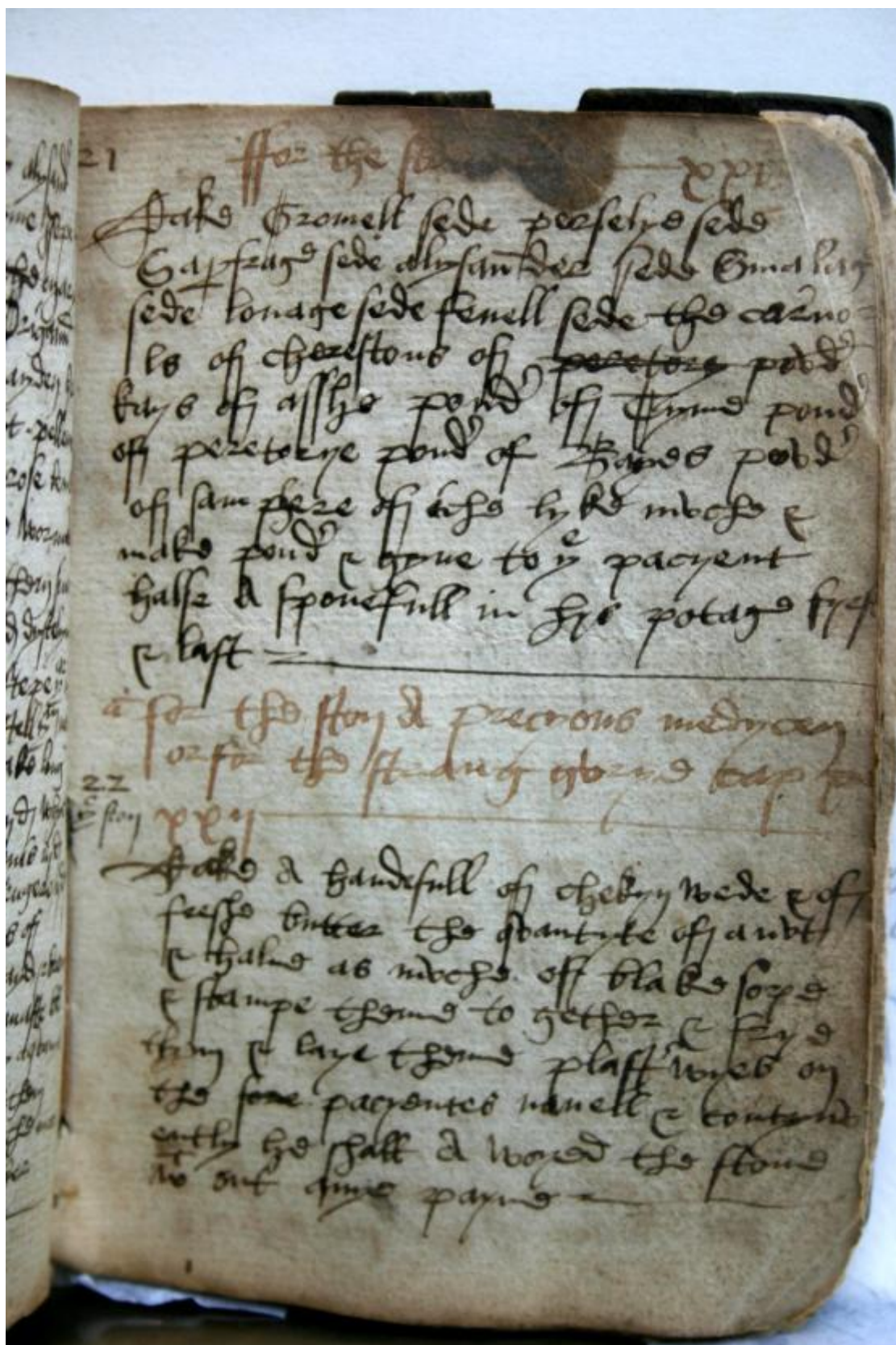
ffor the swetyng & burnyng a regina anglia Cap xix

Take southystell marygolde endyve marwry nyghtshade of eche a handful sethe them in cndytt water from a quart to a pynt then strane them with wenygre tyll yt be sm what tart then put ther to sugre tyll yt be sm what suett then drynkyt when your fets takyth you & kep you warme apon ytt & ye shall be hopeyn be the grace of almyghty god

Recipe 190
swettyng
& brenyng

For to mak aqua pfugtesina for the stone Cap – xx

Take saxfrage parsely alysandr cramell rosmary tyme isope
fenel sage betany marygoulds aventes drigam wyolats long de boef
maydenhere Sallendyne sede mynt pellemont of y^e prymerose
levender camamyle fether foye wormwode of eche a handfull brus the
small & put them to the second dystelyng of aquavite & let them stepe
y^{ar} in all on daye a nyght then stell y^{am} natoralye w^t soft fyer then take
long peper iij dj of blake peper ij dj whyt nutmyges o senamon ij dj
gengre ij dj maces ij dj granes iij dj kays of ashys cherestons
cernel brayde & bren sedj of yche iiij & all thes maste be in
pouder & put tham in any aquavyt stand & stepe all nyght & on
the morrow nyght stell them w^t soft fyer &



B11 003

Recipe 191

ffor the Cap xxi

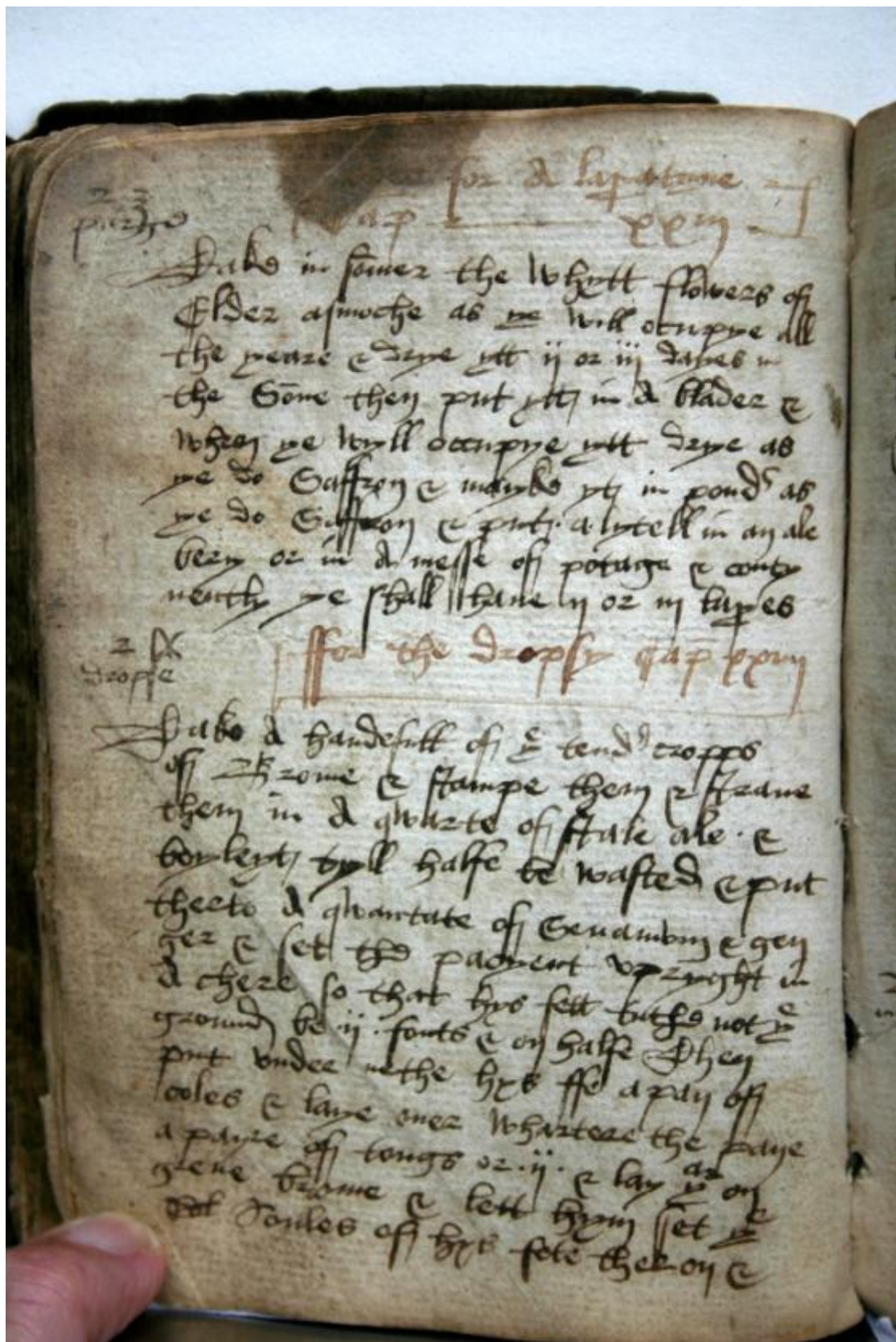
Take gromwell sede perselye sede Saxfrage sede alysander sede smallage sede lovage sede fenel sede the carnols of cherebons of kays of asshe powder of tyme powder of peretorye powder of bayes powder of samphere eche of lyke muche & make a powder & gyve to y^e pacyent halfe a sponefull in hys potage fyrst & last

Recipe 192

for the ston a precyous medycen or for the strangurye cap
xxij

ye ston

Take a handfull of chekyn wede & of freshe buttr the quantyte of a nut & halve as muche of blake sope & stampe theme together & frye them & laye them plaster wyes on the pacyentes navel & contynuently he shall a woyd the stone w^t out anye payne



B11 004

Recipe 193
purge

---- for a laxatyve Cap ---- xxiiij

Take in somer the whytt flowers of elder as moche as ye will occupy all the yeare & drye ytt ij or iij dayes in the sone then put ytt in a blader & when ye wyll occupye ytt drye as ye do saffron & mayke yt in pouder as ye do Saffron & put a lytell in an ale bery or in a messe of potage & continently ye shall have ij or iij laxes

Recipe 194
dropse

ffor the dropsy Cap xxiiiij

Take a handefull of y^e tender cropps of brome & stampe them & strane them in a quart of stale ale & boyle yt tyll halfe be wasted & put ther to a quantete of senamun & genger & set the pacyent upryght in a chere so the his fett tuche not y^e ground be ij fouts & on halfe Then put under nethe hys ffe a pan of coles & lay over whartere the payne a the pane a payre of tongs or ij & lay y^{ar} on grene brome & lett hym set y^e soules of hys fete ther on & gyve hym of the drynke blode warm & evn as the fyre goyth for the reneue the coles & fresh brome so that you gyve hym hys drynke lykewies & let hem do thys the space of v or vi ours & at nyght when he goeth to bedde make hym a possett with the ioyce of neppe & isale & take away y^e croude & clerify yt & put ther to a quantyte of graynes in powd^r & geve the pacyent to drynke when he goyth to bed as hot as he may sufer ytt & lay clothys on hem that he may suete & on the morowe begyne a gayne wythe hem yf nede be & he shall shortly be hole & yf that youe kepe hym wythe some easye thyngs

geve him of the Drinke blode
 & as the free goyth forth & renewe
 the coles & fleshe thome so that now
 geve him the Drinke hys wies &
 let him do thys the space of .v. or .vi. dayes
 & at night when he goeth to bedde make
 him a posset in the ioyce of neppes &
 ysaie & take alway in cronde & deisy &
 & put ther to a quantyte of gramine
 in pold & geve the pacient to drinke
 when he goyth to bed as hat as he may
 Dresse him in layn clothys on hym that
 he may sweate on the moordes to geve
 a gylme wythe hym of nedede & he
 shall shortly be hole & of this none
 kepe hym wythe some casre thynge
 25 For the magenome for part of
 the head tap
 Take on once of Graminace & let
 in fine pond then take the 2d
 parte of the ponde & the wyte of
 an egge & a minture & a helle of
 comyn & a quantyte of flay small
 hackett & let them all to gether &

B11 005

Recipe 195
mygram

ffor the migryme for part of the head Cap ---- xxv

Take on once of stavysacar & bete in fyne poudr & the whyte of an egge & a nutmvge & a lytell of comyn & a quantyte of flax small hackett & bet them all togethers & lay yt plasterwyse on hys forhed when he goyth to bed yf he blede he shalbe holl yf not gyve hym a nother plaster or ij tyll he blede & he shalbe hole

lay yt plaster wyse on the forehead
 when he goyth to bed if he blede he
 shalbe holl if not gyne hym a notte
 plust or .ij. tyll he blede & he shalbe
 hole

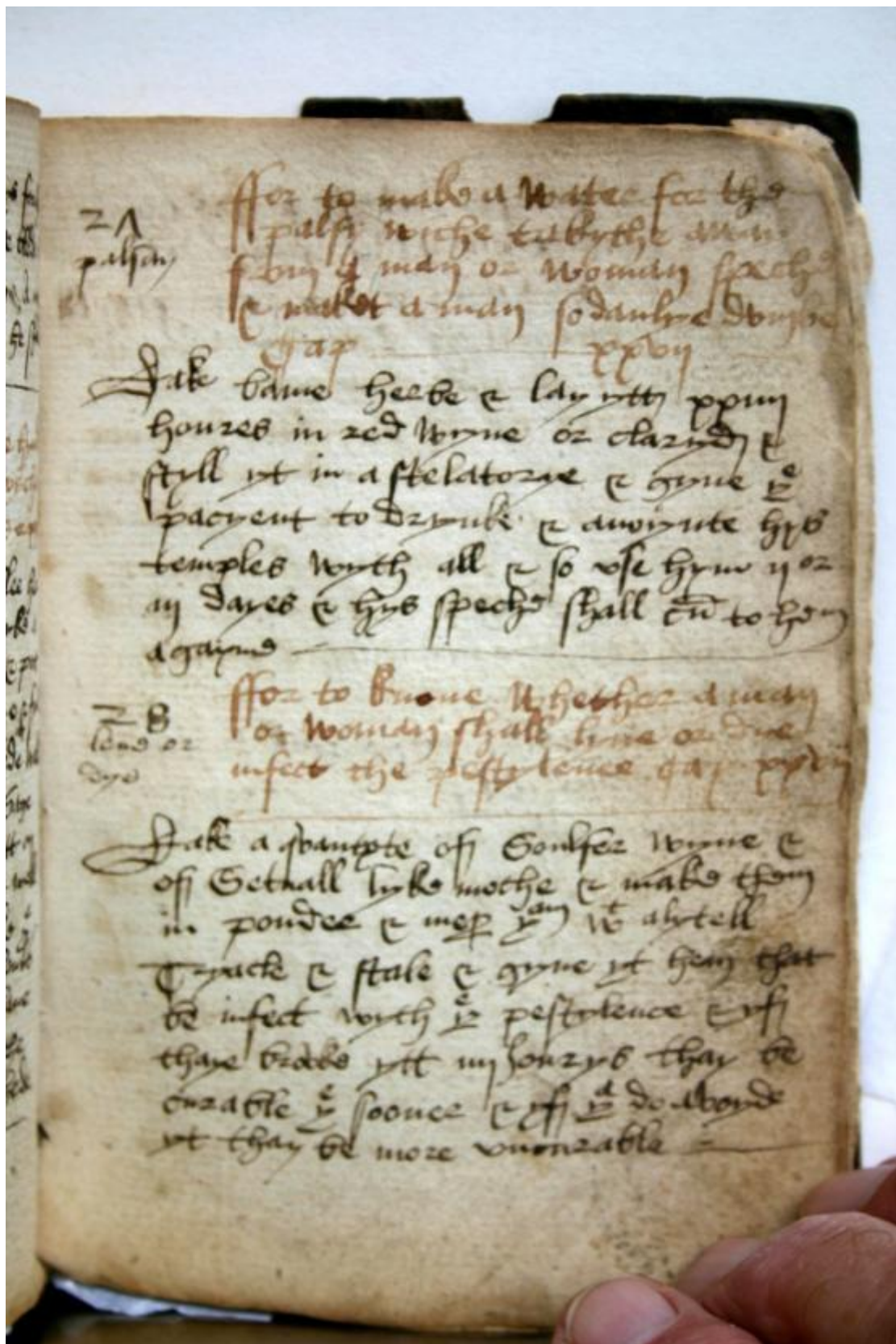
26 For the lytarge in the hand
 part of the hede the wyche
 makyth the hed to shak & m
 Take a puzle flake cut & flice her
 & put out thea conches & puke a
 waye the fat from the gnt & put
 yt in to the bode a game gayne & full
 the bode full of mustard sode well
 steped in the iore of wege & Sage
 then sone the bode up & soft itt on
 a spyt tyll yt be so dry that yt well
 drop no more monstee they take a
 droppinge this off & put in conch
 & when we will occupy itt shane
 the neck & drawite hym to the
 fress in the iore next the hede
 & sanabrenz

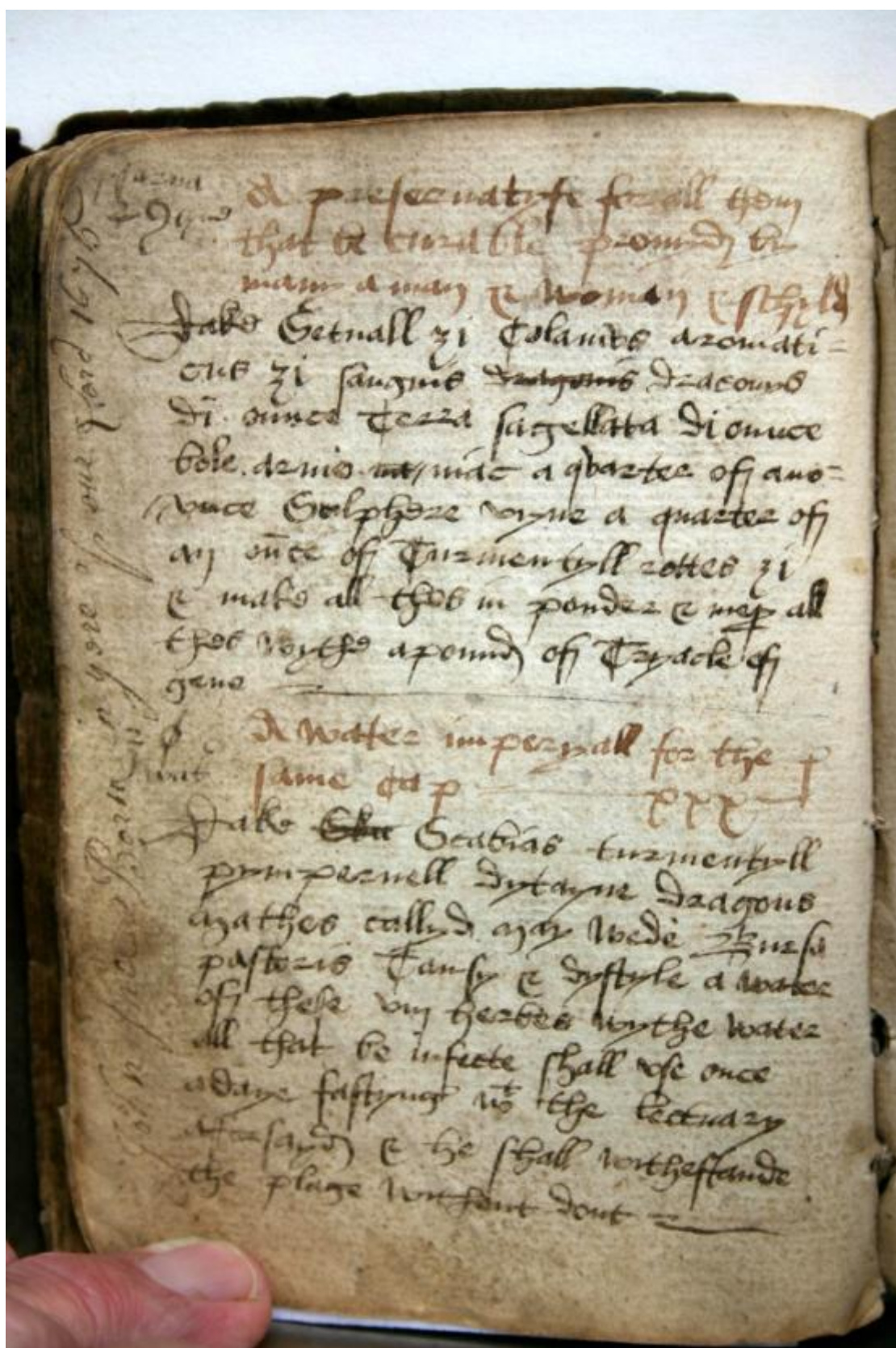
B11 006

Recipe 196

ffor the lytarge in the hynd part of the hede the wyche makyth hed
the hed to shake xxvi

Take a pure blake cat & flee her & put out her bowels & pyke a waye the fat
from the guts & put yt in to the bode a gayne & fyll the body full of mvstard
sede well staped in the ioyce of neppe & sage then soue the body up & rost
ytt on a spyt tyll yt be so dry that yt well drop no more moyster then take
y^e droppynge thar of & put in bouls & when ye will occupy ytt shave hys neck
& anoynte hyme be the fyere in the ionte next the hed & sanabitur





B11 007

Recipe 197
palsay

ffor to make a water for the palsy wiche takyth away from a
man or woman speche & makes a man sodanly dumbe
Cap --- xxvij

Take bame herbe & lay ytt xxiiij houres in red wyne or claryd & styll yt in a
stelatorye & gyve y^e pacyent to drynk & anoynte hys temples wyth all & so vse
hym ij or iij dayes & hys speche shall cm to hem

Recipe 198
leve or dye

ffor to knoue whether a man or woman shall lyve or dye infect
the pestylence Cap xxviij

Take a quantitey of soulfur wyne & of Setuall lyke moche & make them in
pouder & mex y^{am} w^t a lytell tyracle & stale & gyve yt hem that be infect wyth
y^e pestylence & yf thay brouke ytt iiij hourys thay be curable & ye sooner & yf
y^a do avoyde yt thay be more vncurable

B11 008

Recipe 199

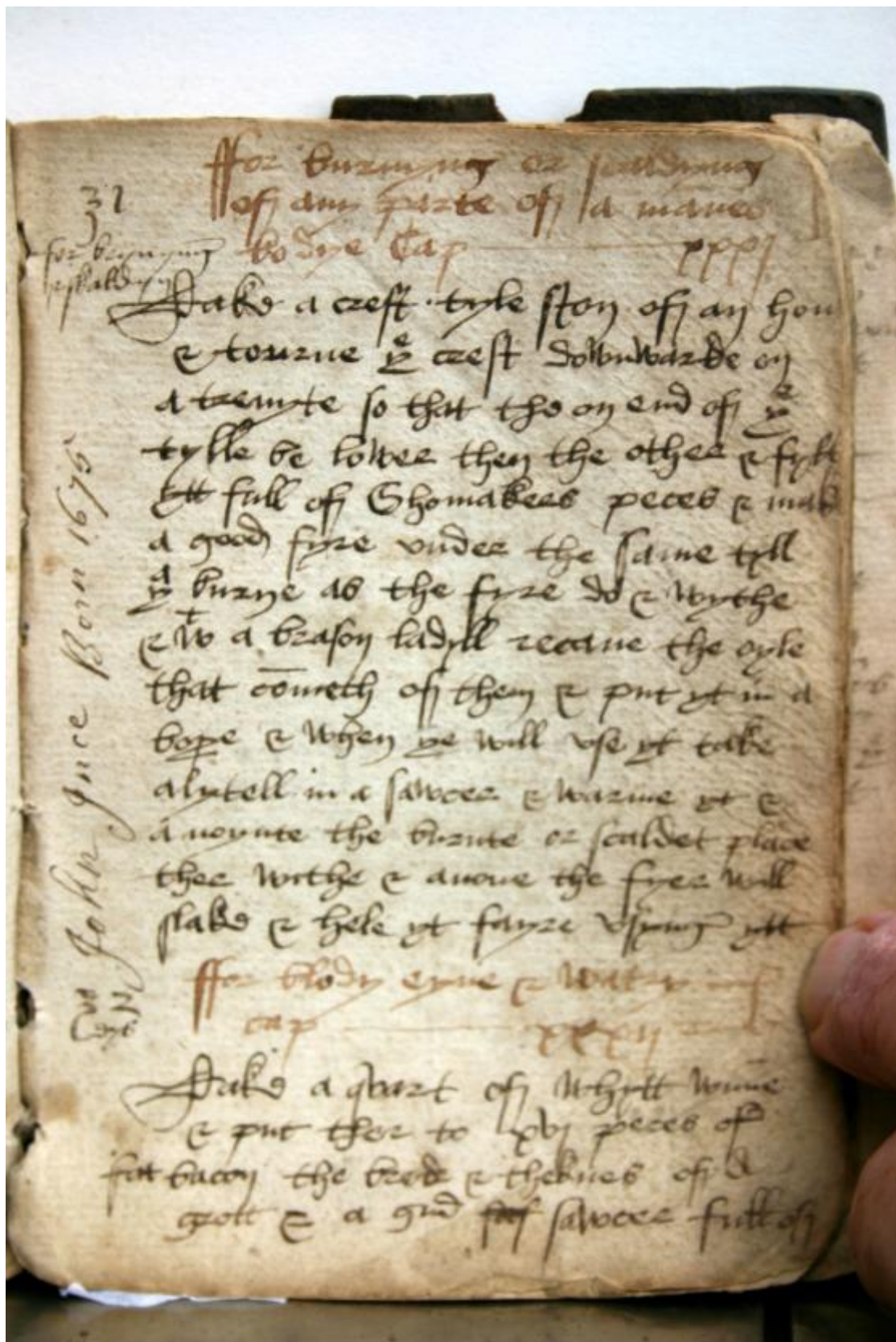
a preservatyfe for all them that be curable provyd by many a man woman &
schyld

Take setuall *3i* olamvs aromaticus *3i* sangius draconys *di* ounce terra
sagellata *di* ounce bole armoniac a quarter of an ounce of sulphur vyne a
quarter of an ounce or turmentyll rottes *3i* & make all thes in pouder & mex
all thes wythe a pound of tryacle of geue

Recipe 200
watr

a water imperyall for the same Cap – xxx

Take scabias turmentyll pympernell dytayne dragons myathes calleyd
maywede bursa pastoris tansy & dystyle a water of these viij herbes wythe
water all that be infeete shall use once a daye fastyng w^t the lectuary aftersayd
& he shall withstande the plage without dout



pnce horne & put in a litle
 basin cleane powdered & ster them well
 together & con hem in another litle
 basin the space of - 10 dayes then
 shall ye find creme on a water
 then take a litle off the creme &
 pouze out a cleare water & so and
 nethe softne in to a glas of that
 water shall helpe all maner of fede
 eney & watryng vsing thre water
 salve put a drop in to 5 or 6 cey
 ons or thre a daye

+ For the blode fluye

Take bene peached in a pan & beat
 beate them in to a fine powder.
 take gnd ale aquaete & put it to
 a litle sugar & boyle them to
 gether on the fyre & let the pacy-
 sit drynt the of as soot as he
 may suffer it wfor he goeth to
 bed & it shall stophem to be

For the pestilence

For the pestilence

B11 009

Recipe 201
for brynyng
& skalgyng

ffor burnyng or scaldyng of any parte of a manes bodye
Cap – xxxi

Take a crest tyle ston of an hous & tourne y^e crest downward
on a trevyte so that the on end of y^e tylle be lower than the
other & fyll ytt full of shomakers peces & mak a good
fyre under the same tyll y^a burne as the fyre do & wythe a
brason ladyll reame the oyle that cometh of them & put yt in a
box & when ye well use yt take a lytell in a sawcer & warme yt
& anoynte the buruce or scaldet place ther wythe & anone the
fyre will slake & hele yt fayre usyng ytt

Recipe 202

ffor bloody eyne & watry cap – xxxij

Take a quart of whytt wine & put ther to xvi peces of fat bacon the brede &
theknes of a grote & a gud sawcer full of pure honne & put in a lytyll bason
clen scowred & ster them well together & cover hem w^t another latryn bason
the space of ix dayes then shall ye fynd crème on y^e water then breke a lytell
of the crème & poure out y^e clere water y^a ys ondernethe softlye into a glas
That water shall helpe all maner of Rede eyen & watryng usyng thys water
dalye put a drop into hys eyen ons or twys a day

Take in spoonful of water of
 Dragons oz of fedme oz of
 Shabdas y spoonfull of Veneger
 halfe a spoonfull of tynacle &
 mepe all thes together & let y
 selfe drinke yt wazme & kepe hem
 from thepe - po or pmy honours of
 he can also & medecine so good to
 kepe drinke yf he be not selfe to kepe
 yow from the plage once a week oz
 in ymy meghtes & yf the selfe
 broke not drinke agayne for the offoz
 he drinbeth the better shall he be for
 hem

*For the lince wasting woful
 cansteth scab face & leperous
 & ap*

Take & make adzends on the wyer
 take in galont of suete worte & put
 the to in hand full of leu wortt
 & in handfull of violatts & y handfull
 of hartestong in handfull of gary
 goulds & in handfull of maddelone &
 stampe all thes to gether & boyle y
 apter wyle in wote then take

B11 010

Recipe 203

ffor the blodye flyxe

Cap - xxxiij

Take bens perched in a pan & beate them into a fyne powder take gud ale a quart & put y^{ar} ----to a lytell sugre & boyle them to gether on the fyre & let the pacyent drynke ther of as hoott as he may suffer yt when he goyeth to bed & yt shall stop hem by & by

B11 010/12

Recipe 204
pestelence

ffor the pestelence Cap – xxxiiij

Take iij sponful of water of dragons or bedyne or of skabyas ij sponful of veneger halfe a sponful of tryacle & mexe all thes together & let y^e seke drynke yt warme & kepe hem from shepe xvi or xxxiiij hourys yf ye can also y^s medycyne ys good to drynke yf he be not seke to kepe yow from the plage once a weke or in xiiij meghtes & yf the sycke breke not drynke agayne for the ofter he drynketh the better shall he be for hem

B12 001

Recipe 205
lever

ffor the lyver wastyng wyche causeth scaby face & leperous

Cap ----xxxv

Take & make a drenke on thys wyes take iiij galons of suete worte & put ther to iiij handfull of lever wortt & iiij handfull of violats & ij handful of hartes tong iiij handfull of maryggoulds & iiij handfull of madfelore & stampe all these together & boyle y^{an} a p^{ty} whyle in wort then take y^{an} up tyll yt be colde & stranyt & put thar to barmelet & use thys fastyng & at nyght ye space of a monthe then take a noyntment that ys mayd for drye scabes & let hem dalye anoynte hys face usyng y^s drynke a for sayd

vp till it be colde & strany
 & put that to the sunne
 & use this fasting & at night in
 space of a monthe of sayn tyme &
 inuolument that no mayd for dyse
 stabes & let hem saue anoynte thre
 face face vsing off & drynke &
 for sayd =

For prouynge of althowse
 a scab or for any suching
 Chap =

Take flaxe sed halfe a handfull & so
 of moche of the of shotwell comyn & set
 bet all this in fyne pobb & set in
 vinegre or els in red wyne daend
 or whyt & put that halfe so moche
 mylke & sette it till it be thye as
 pape & laye it bet to the sore &
 vntill it be fetten & well dryed of
 be not it de sendyng =

For the plague Chap =
 Take the ioyce of may wede salte
 a poundfull green matter or the
 powder of the wyght of 4 grotes

B12 002

Recipe 206

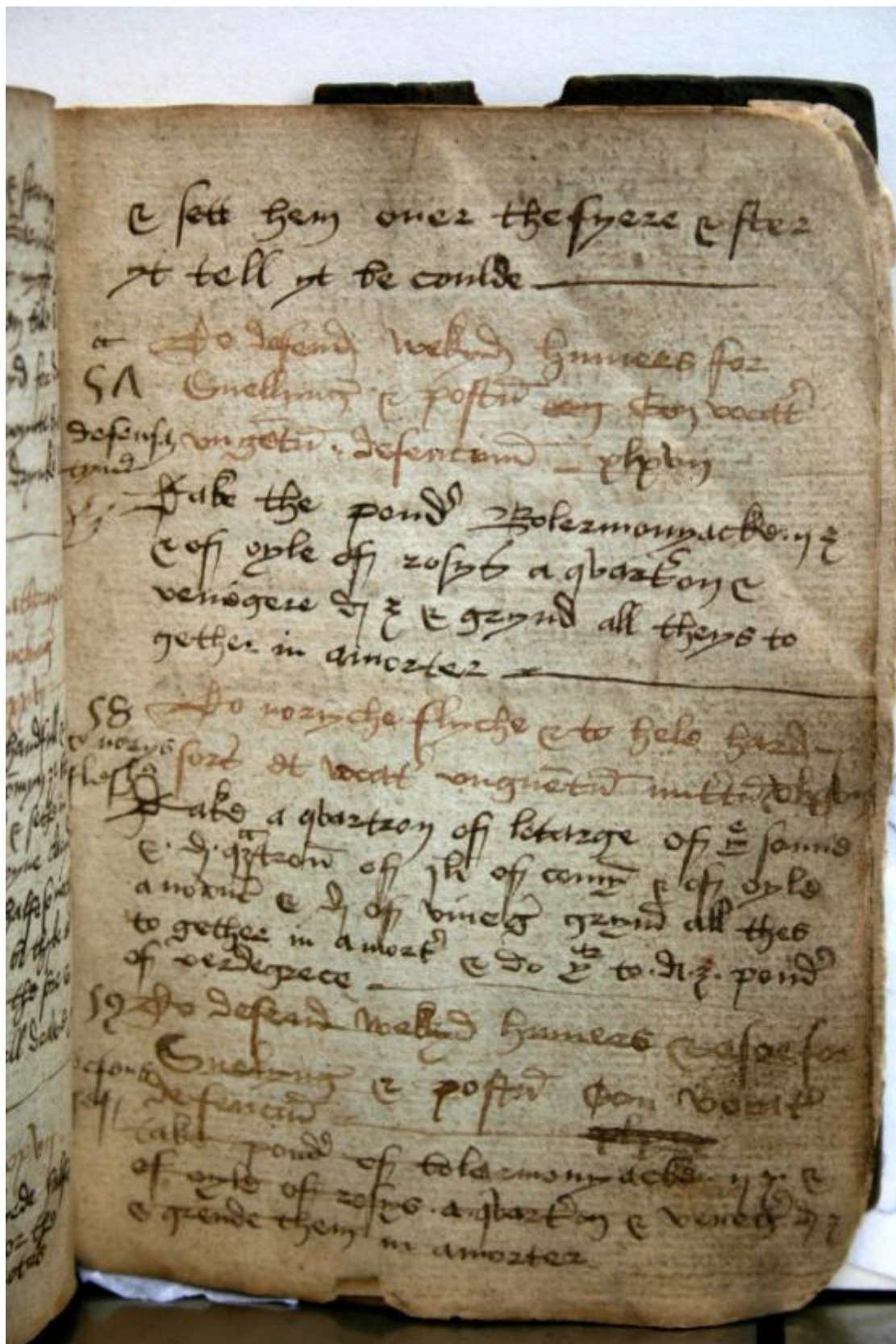
ffor prykyng of a thorne or a scab or any suelyng Cap –xxxvi

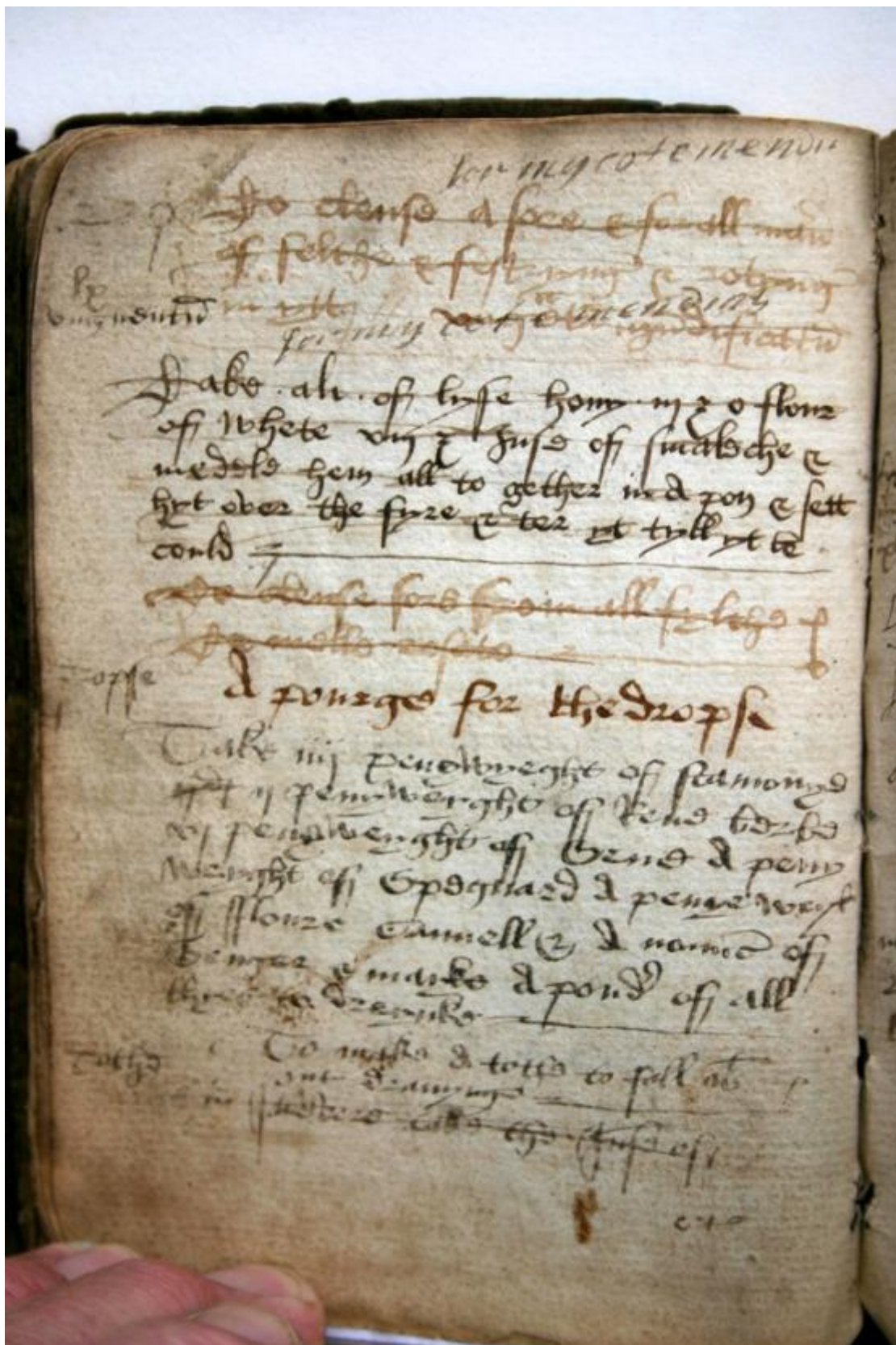
Take flaxe sed halfe a handfull & so qt moche of hotmell comyn and bet all
thes in fyne povdr & sethe in vynegre or els in red wyne claryd ot whyt & put
ther to halfe so moche mylke & sethe yt tyll yt be thyke as pape & laye yt
hot to the sore & yf ytt be rotten yt well draue yf not yt desendythe

Recipe 207

for the plage Cap – xxxvij

Take the juice of may wede halfe a sponfull grene mather or the pouder the
wyght of ij grotes





B12 003

Recipe 208
defensa tyve

To defend wekyd humers for swellyng & postn Con watt^s
ungetm defenciam ---- x lxvij

Take the poud^r bohermonyack & of oyle of rosys a quarter on & venegre *dj* 3
& grynd all theys to gether in a mortar

Recipe 209
norys fleshe

To noryche flyche & to hele hard sors dt watt^s vnguetm nut^{tn}
xlv viij

Take a quartron of letarge of y^e sonne & *dj* quartron of *ilj* of comyn & of
oyle a novnce & *dj* of vinegar grind all thes together in a mortar & do y^{ar} to *dj*
3 poud^r of verdegrece

B12 004

Recipe 210

~~To clense a sore & for all man^r of felthe & festryng &---~~

.....
.....

Take *ali* of lyfe hony iij3 o flour of whete xiiij3 Juse of smaleche & medele
hem all together in a pon & sett hyt over the fyre & ster yt tyll yt be could

To clense sors from all fylthe
To melle refas

Recipe 211
dropse

A purge for the dropse

Take iiij penywyeght of scamonye ij penywyght of reue berbe vj penywyght of sene a penywyght of spegnard a penywyght of ffloure cannell & a nounce of seuger & make a poud^r of all thyes to dreyнке

Recipe 212

To make a tothe to fall without drauyng

.....
.....

For to make any old soe etc
 Take 20 lb of pryncell & waxy
 ben & stamp them & then to 2 soe &
 & shall clense hit & open hit & make
 hit hole for soe
 For to be free of bell what it
 Take 1 lb of rose of zebort & a gallon
 of wenege & a pint of honey &
 Sette them all to gether to hit be
 halve dell sed in then put hit in
 to a viall of glas & when he need
 of put a steel in to a sizer & take a lute
 flap & so ste it in & lay it on
 soe & it well stay & fynd
 For women it woldo have much
 Take the fise of verbon. or 1 lb fise
 of fenell & lette be 2 drunks of
 & the shall have much & nobe of drunks
 to use fenell 20 lb on byls a custard ston
 to pond & drunks it & much & the shall
 have enoll

Recipe 213
clens sore

ffor to waysch an old sore & to clanse ytt xlxix

Take y^e rotys of pymperell & waysche hem & stamp heme & lay to y^e sore
y^s shall clanse ht & open ht & make hyt hole for soy^e

Recipe 214
fyr of hell

ffor y^e fyre of hell pbat eft

Take y^e juse of rebvort & a galon of wenegre & a pynt of honnye & sethe
tham all to gether tylyt be halve dell sod in then put hyt in to a vyall of glas &
when ye ned y^{ar} of put a lytel into a saser & take a lytell flax & wete y^{er} in &
laye yt on y^e sore & yt well slay y^e fyre

Recipe 215
melke

ffor woman y^{at} wolde have mylke xlxxi
pbat

Take the Juse of veryne or y^e Juse of fenell & lett hyr drynk y^{ar} of & she shall
have mylke y noue Øy^s drynke letuse fenell sede Oy^r bryle a crystal ston to
poud^r & drynke yt w^t mylke & she shall have enowe

for to make a good herte for
 houte for a newe for a
 like a quartion of pectre another
 of fofyne & as much of pectre
 halfe a pound of med wap & a pound
 of galbany & as much of gubabab &
 in dore of taret groce & a pound
 of franken fene & halfe a vnd of
 Sandragon halfe a quart of a vnd
 of verdegroce & halfe a vnd of hume
 & they lett it fere all to gether
 till all be mocten to gether &
 steame from & then it to pond of
 serpentyne & as all 20 in purp
 & let do from on the fyre a gaine
 be the face of sayng this salme
 & then take take & fter it well
 in a box & this is good both for
 for festin & for banboz

Recipe 216
ould & neu sore

Take a quartron of pyche another of rosyne & as moche of prosyne &
 halfe a pounce of merd wax & a nounce of galbanum & as moche gum
 arobake & iij ounces of bores grece & a nounce of frankensence & halfe
 ounce of sandragon half a quarter of a vnce of verdegrece & half a vnce of honne &
 then lett y^{am} frye all together tyll all be movltyne together & y^{en}strane hem
 & th^{yar} to poudr of serpentyneyt ys all rede in puryd & let do hem
 on the fyre agane be the space of saying this salme miserere mei deuse &
 ster yt well & then take yt downe & do yt in a box & thys ys gud
 bothe for festur & for kankor

[illegible]

B12 007

Recipe 217

For kanker in chylde mowye xlxxiiij

Take rew & alyme & warmede & powd hyt & do yt togedyr in vinegar & take a lytell steke & clefe hyt & do y^{ar} on a cloye & bynde a bout w^t a therde wete yt into the sayd wat^r & rube ye teyhte y^{ar} w^t & aft^r supe vinegar fyrst & laste to washe your mouthe & yf ytt be a stron kanker put hunne to your medesen & yt well hell yt upe

Recipe 218
purge

xlxxiiij
for to mayke a purgacyon for a man semythe to be brosed or
woundyd & bledyth inward

Take the rots of waluort & washe hem clene & grende hem small in a mortor & aft^r lete strane hyt & let the seke drynke y^t iuse fastyng & he shall have a purgacyon aboue or be nethe

ffor take a quantite of copers &
 put to it whyte well it goe ffor & ffor
 in to gether & wryng itt throu d clapp
 & it is dugout the fures off & ffor att
 dems when he goyth to tedde & to ffor
 to ffor ffor ffor ffor
 ffor ffor ffor ffor ffor
 ffor the ffor ffor ffor
 ffor & wryt that wryd to & ffor
 ffor ppo. d + e + l + d + te + ffor
 gamaton dnam ffor + alpha + et
 + o + dngls qm mens. p. & defendant
 me. p. gubarna me corpe men p in
 orb vite mias dme ffor ppo ffor
 mens i fforit celu & tarza amon
 ffor the ffor mens ffor
 ffor zaroll bay ffor & ffor ffor
 & take & ffor p-tomp w ffor ffor
 & make d ffor & take it in the emon
 & lat ffor ffor et of ffor as ffor
 maye
 ffor gubarna & alym in a man
 ffor

Recipe 219
emoradys

xlxxv
for to dry up the emorewdys pba est

Take orgome & caloment lavendyr caledr sal copose of yche y lyke movche
by wyght sey^e hem yn watyr & lett y^e pacyent take y^e eyer into hys foundemont
& y^{at} well drye vp ye emoradys

Recipe 220
blast on ye fayse

for man or woman that hayth a blistr on the fayse xlxxvj

Take an egg & rost yt hard and do a waye y^e yolke & take ye whyte & do a
waye the shelys then take a quantyte of coperose & pyt to ye whyt well yt ys
hote & sta^{pe} y^{an} together & wryng ytt throue a clothe & yar to w^t anynt the
fayce of y^e seke att even when he goythe to bedde & he shall be hole pb est

B12 008

Recipe 221
for ye fallyng
evell

for the fallyng evyll xlxxvij

Take & wryt thes words w^t y^e letters Ilo . x . po
.a + e + q + a + te + Tetragrammaton anany³apte + alpha + et
+ Ø + angele qui meus. ? . & defendant me .?. & gubarne me
corp men & in eb³ bite miae dne hm ppe pat mens y^e forit
celn & tara amen

Recipe 222

For the bloody mension xlxxviii

Take ³arow waybrede & stampe hem & take y^e juse & temp w^t whet flour &
make a kake & bake yt in the embers & lat the seke ete y^{ar} of so hot as he
maye

Recipe 223

Ffor the gnawyng & akyng in a mans wome xlxxix

Take v levyd gras & stampe hyt w^t stall alle & let y^e seke drynke y^{ar} of iij
sponfuls at ons & sethe peleoll ryoll & bynd yt to hys navyll as hot as he may
soffery

Take v land gress & fampes
 w^{ch} fall alle & let i seke ~~land~~
 in p^{er}sonfuls at one & sette p^{er}son
 f^{or}th & bind it to his nabyll so he
 as he may possesse -

R^{ed} another for the same p^{er}son
 Take p^{er}son & fampes he it sit
 & temp he to wat or falk also
 take the seke to Dymke & he p^{er}son
 h^{is}

R^{ed} for to make a woman to have her
 p^{er}son -

I have experience f^{or}th now that
 take it p^{er}son to make not in childe ren
 take i rote of gladyng & sette it in
 vineges & when he it is well c^{on}vey
 set it a downe & let her steyde
 all the s^{un}day maye not a woman but
 in to her p^{er}son & the well helpe
 her -

R^{ed} for to seke i p^{er}son -

Take an h^{is} & fent & sette it
 in the the of p^{er}son & let her
 Dymke i of in falk also -

B12 009

Recipe 224
wome

another for the same xlxxx

Take rewe & stampe hyt w^t salt & tempyt w^t wat^r or stall ale & take y^e seke to drynke & he shalbe hole

Recipe 225
flours

ffor to make a woman to have her flours xlxxxj

Thys experynce falyth nev^s butt loke y^t she be not w^t chylde yen take y^e rote of gladyn & sethe yt in vynegre & when hyt ys well soden set yt a doune & let hyr stryde y^{er} over y^t the eyre maye not a waye but in to her p^rvyte & thys well helpe hyr

Recipe 226

for to sese y^e flourys xlxxxij

Take an hyer d font & mayke ther of poud^r let hyr drynke y^{ar} of in stall ale

for an outly soc & phyping
 I also frankencounse & az memot &
 make a pond & take off mye & hals
 midde & lare yt out the pndys of &
 for & the schalbe hals
 for to wythe an outly soc & to chouse
 phyping
 I also & zalye of pynpwell & lare
 hem & stamp hem & lare to & soc & &
 shall clarys hit & open hit & make hit
 hals for forth
 pool on lare not
 for a man that ys booking in the
 helms
 phyping
 I also & zalye of & hals of fennell &
 I also & make of thym pond & shew
 it all & gese to the schalbe & hals
 my or my lare & at well man & hals
 & hals do the was on & first I also
 & hals & hals
 & hals that ys to the
 the secunde & hals
 Gentendit
 the threde & hals

B12 010

Recipe 227

for an ould sore xlxxxiiij

sore yat ys ould

Take frankencence & arnemet make a poud^r & take ayy^{er} y lyke mouche
& laye yt on the sydys of y^e sor he shalbe hole

.....
.....

Recipe 228

For to washe an ould sore & to clense yt xlxxxiiij

Take y^e rotys of pypnell & waysch hem & stamp hem & laye to y^e sore &
y^s shall clense hyt & open hyt & make hyt hole for soythe

B12/13 010

.....

Recipe 229
brokynn belye

not

for a man that ys brokyng in hys bellye

Take orpyng & y^e rots of fennell & drye y^{am} & make of them poud^r & osmend w^t all & geve to the seke to drynke y^{ar} of iij or iiij dayes & y^{at} well mayke y^e wovnd so grene as he was on y^e frest daye nev^r cethe m Then take ther iij erbs that ys to say sencenodin the seconde ys osmonde the threde ys allcn payne the iiij ys pollypodyn then must ye have date stons dryet & mayd in fyne poud^r & maste ye drye all the iiij erbs a for sayd then stampe them all together & make poud^r of the & lat the paychent drynke y^{ar} of xv – dayes & w^t in – xv – dayes he shal be hole bot ye mast trve hem vp w^t a pansharde & he most lye in hys bedde for the most parte of th – xv – dayes

Allhen pame the iij vs polle pame
 then must we have that stone dyet
 & mayd in fine pond & make we dyet
 all the iij dyet & for pnde then stamp
 them all to gether & make pond of
 them & lat the paychout dyet & of
 of yb-dance & to in yb-dance go that
 to holl bot we must tbe hem up to a
 pynsharde & the most tye in the bed
 for the most payt of the yb-dance
 plyn
 The platt to bratt hony plyn
 plyn
 Dyet polye plyn that growthe on
 the obo & tbe of of puer tye plyn
 & the tbe of bloudcamp plyn & paye
 hem obo & tye tbe tye in most
 as small as we can & tye it of
 of tye & make a platt tye of tye
 & laye it on a tye clothe & gnd
 gnd & laye it tye tye tye
 plyn and tye tye tye tye
 all we wecome & on tye wecome
 it agayne & tye well tye tye
 we wecome tye in maye

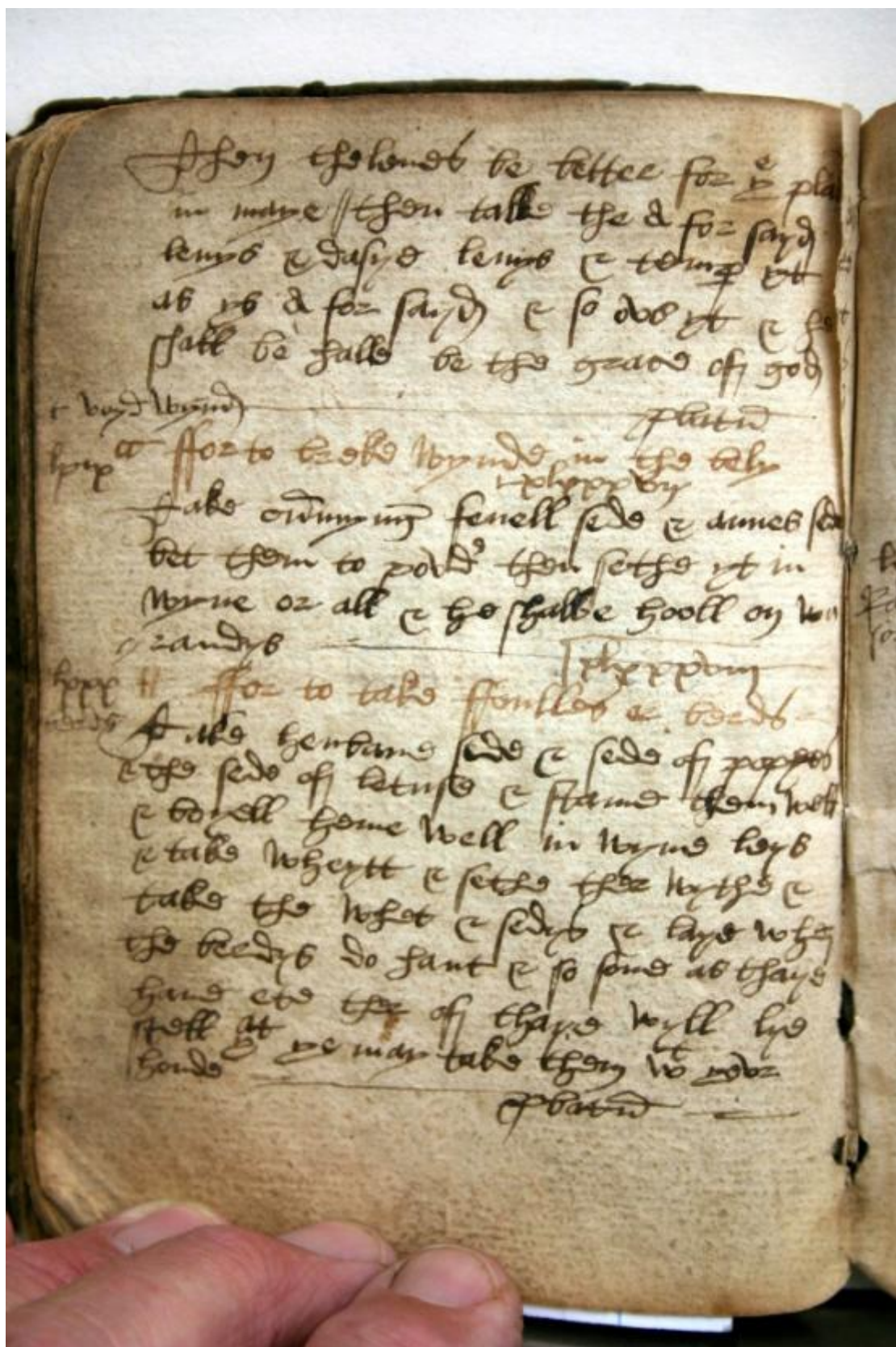
B13 001

Recipe 230
a plastr

The plast^r to knett hem xlxxxvj

Take polyepodye that grouythe on the oke y^e rote y^{ar} of paer them
clene & the rote of elenacamp pana & payre hem clene & then bete
them in a mort^r as small as ye can temp yt oyell of baye & make a
plast^r ther of theke & laye yt on a theke clothe a gud quantete &
laye

.....
.....



B13 002

Recipe 231
t voyd wynd

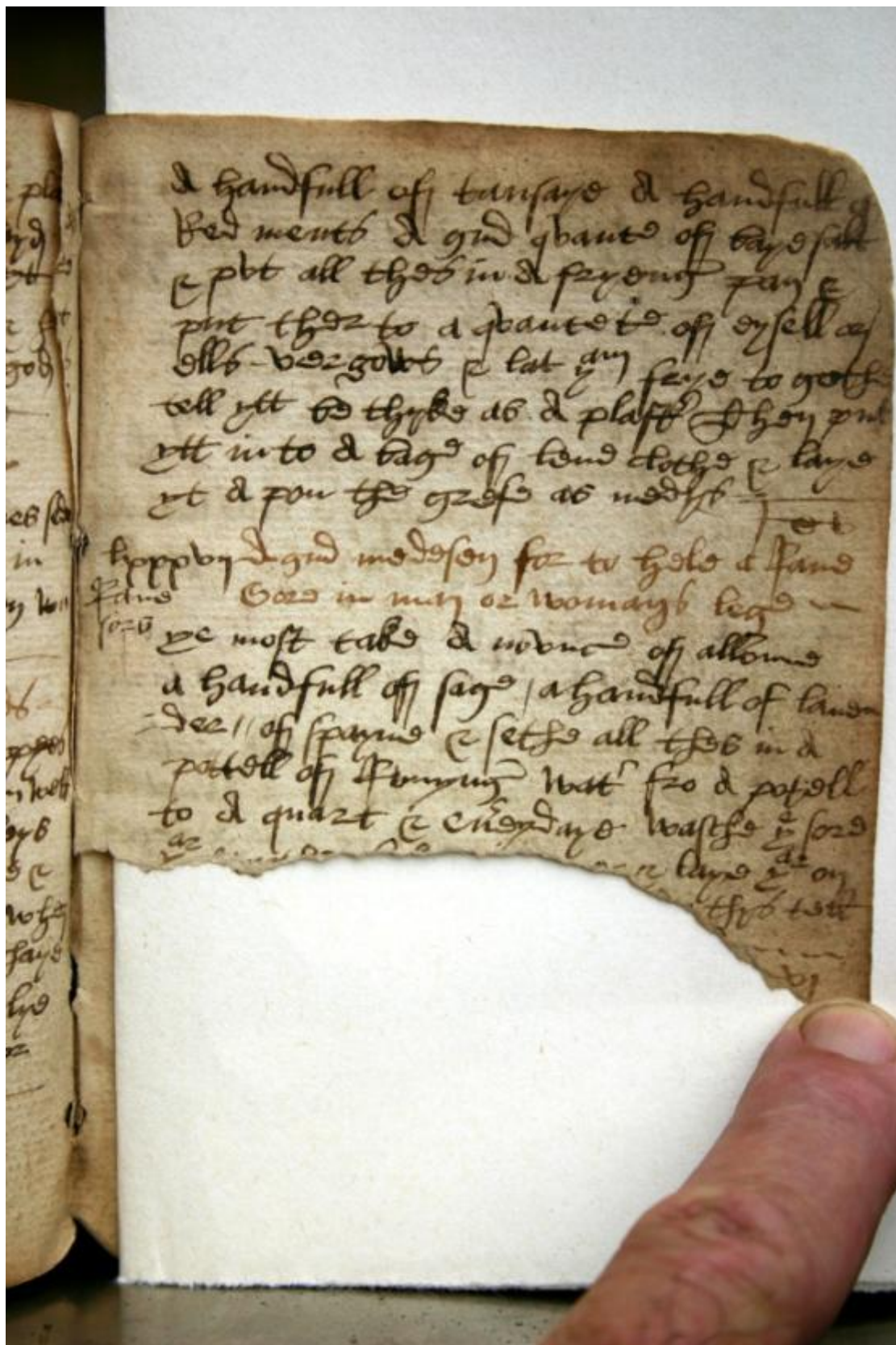
ffor to breke wynde in the bely *xlxxxvij*

Take cumyng fenell sede & avnce sede bet them to povdr then sethe yt in
wyne or all & he shalbe hool on warandys

Recipe 232
berds
.....

ffor to take ffoulles or berds *xlxxxviij*

Take henbane sede & sede of poppyes & the sede of lettuce & stame
them well & boyell heme well in wyne leys & take wheytt & sethe ther
wyth & take the whet & sedys & lay wher the berdys do hant & so sone
as thaye have ete ther of thaye wyll lye stell y^{at} ye may take them w^t yovr
honde ----- pbatn



B13 003

Recipe 233

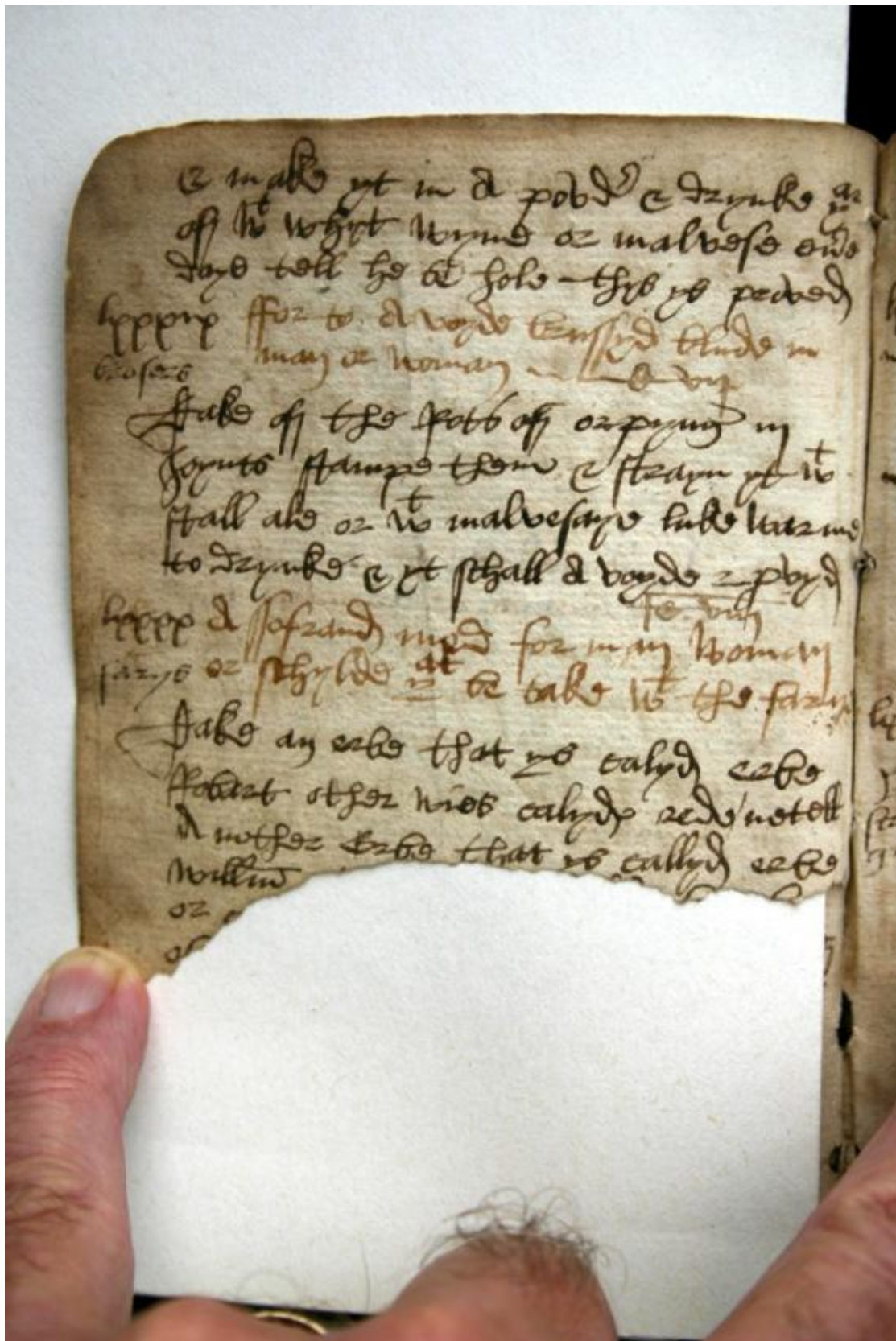
a handfull of tansay a handfull of red ments a gud quant^r of baye salt & pvt all thes in a pryeng pan & put ther to a quantete of eysell or ells vergows & lat y^{am} frye together tell ytt be thyke as a plast^r then put ytt into a bag of lene clothe & laye yt a pon the grefe as nedys

Recipe 234

Raue sore

a gud medesen for to hele a Raue Sore
in a man or womans lege

ye most take a nounce of allome a handfull of sage / a handfull of lavender / of spayne & sethe all thes in a pottell of Runnyng wat^r fro a potell to a quart & wasche ye sore —



B13 004

Recipe 235

& make yt in a poudr & drynke y^{ar} of w^t whyt wyn or malvese every day
tell he be hole -- thys ys proved

Recipe 236
.....

Ffor to avoyde brussyd blode in man or woman ---

Take the rots of orpyng iij joynts stampe them & strayn yt w^t stall ale or
w^t malvesaye luke warme to drynke & yt shall a voyde ----

Recipe 237

sofrand medesen for man woman or chylde y^{at} be take w^t the farys
farys

Take an erbe that ys calyd erbe robert other wies calyd rede netell a nother
erbe thatt ys calyd erbe -----

iiij or v or vj dayes tell he be hole --- for thys ys ---- proved

B13 005

Recipe 238
wounds

o staunche a wound & to clense hem at the furste dryssing

Take the whyt of a negge & bete ytt well then take boul armonyak in fyne powder & temp them both together then laye them a pon a curstosity of clene flax & so laye yt on the wounde & yt well bothe stanche the blood & clens the wound – provyd

Recipe 239
strangury

suffrand medesen for the strangollyon --- provyd –

Se y^{al} ye take the erbys folowyng // & dystell evry erbe be heme selve the substans of a quart a pese // forst ye shall take // psolye // pempnell // wylde tansay // peretory // lene coods // mousers // ramfous // fenell // on seytt lekys //

When all thes waters be dystelyd as ys a for sayd then put them all to gether in a glas or glassys & lat y^e Seke drynke ther of evre daye fastyng – vij – spovnfuls & the thred payrt of a spovnfull of smallage in poudr & halfe a spovnfull of psellye sede drynke ytt w^t the for sayd wat^r so vys yt evre daye & you shalbe hole for thys haythe bene – provyd

Dyrable ytt wth the for sand that e^{re} for
 ytt this daye e^{re} shall be hole for the
 byrde here - p^{ro}vedo -
 Take a drop of gude ayre & a quantite of
 postreale sope & a quantite of cuning dede
 & mixe all thes together & bynde ytt so hott
 as we may suffer ytt vnto the & the stiches
 hole
 Take a good quantite of salmons oy wassen
 & stamp ytt small in a morter till ytt be
 as a talpe then take a good quantite
 of froshe but^{ter} of e^{re} yalonyast & ytt maye
 have stamps the butt & the erye to
 gether tell ytt be as a salve thes lase
 ytt on a fayre leu clothe & layt abow
 about the soe all cold & thes well
 mende botte & smellum & abow ytt in
 adye & on nyght
 Take a good quantite of salmons oy wassen
 & stamp ytt small in a morter till ytt be
 as a talpe then take a good quantite
 of froshe but^{ter} of e^{re} yalonyast & ytt maye
 have stamps the butt & the erye to
 gether tell ytt be as a salve thes lase
 ytt on a fayre leu clothe & layt abow
 about the soe all cold & thes well
 mende botte & smellum & abow ytt in
 adye & on nyght
 Take a good quantite of salmons oy wassen
 & stamp ytt small in a morter till ytt be
 as a talpe then take a good quantite
 of froshe but^{ter} of e^{re} yalonyast & ytt maye
 have stamps the butt & the erye to
 gether tell ytt be as a salve thes lase
 ytt on a fayre leu clothe & layt abow
 about the soe all cold & thes well
 mende botte & smellum & abow ytt in
 adye & on nyght

[illegible]

B13 006

Recipe 240
postu

Ffor swellyng in lems ---

Take y^e drose of gud ayle & a quantete of blake sope & a quantete of cumyng sede sethe all thes together & bynde yt so hott as ye may suffer yt – vys thys & he shalbe hole

Recipe 241

ffor a Sour pentell that ys suovne & akyth & brende ---

Take a gud quante of jaroue on washen & stamp yt small in a morter tyll yt be as a salfe then take a gud quantete of freshe butt^r of y^e yalouast y^{at} ye maye have stampe the butt^r & the erbys to gether tell ytt be as a salve then laye yt on a fayre len clothe & lapyt round a bout y^e suellyng & akyng w^t in a daye & on neyght – pvyed

Recipe 242
knet bons

to knet broken bons ----

.....
.....
.....

B13 007

Recipe 243
axsys

suffrand medysen for the axsys hot or coulde –

Take ix or xj of pyenyos sede & laye y^{an} a pon a hot tyll stone so y^{at} thaye brene not but as y^a maye esalye drye & when y^a be drye : take & pell a waye ye hoske & then make the curnell in povdr & then put ther to ij or iij sponfull of fyne sugre // & let the seke drynke y^{ar} of wythe iij sponfuls of runyng wat^r & yff yt take heme coulde geve yt to heme warme & yf yt take hem hot gyve yt to hem coulde when the fett comes a pon hem for thys ys bene – provyd

Recipe 244
Tuthe

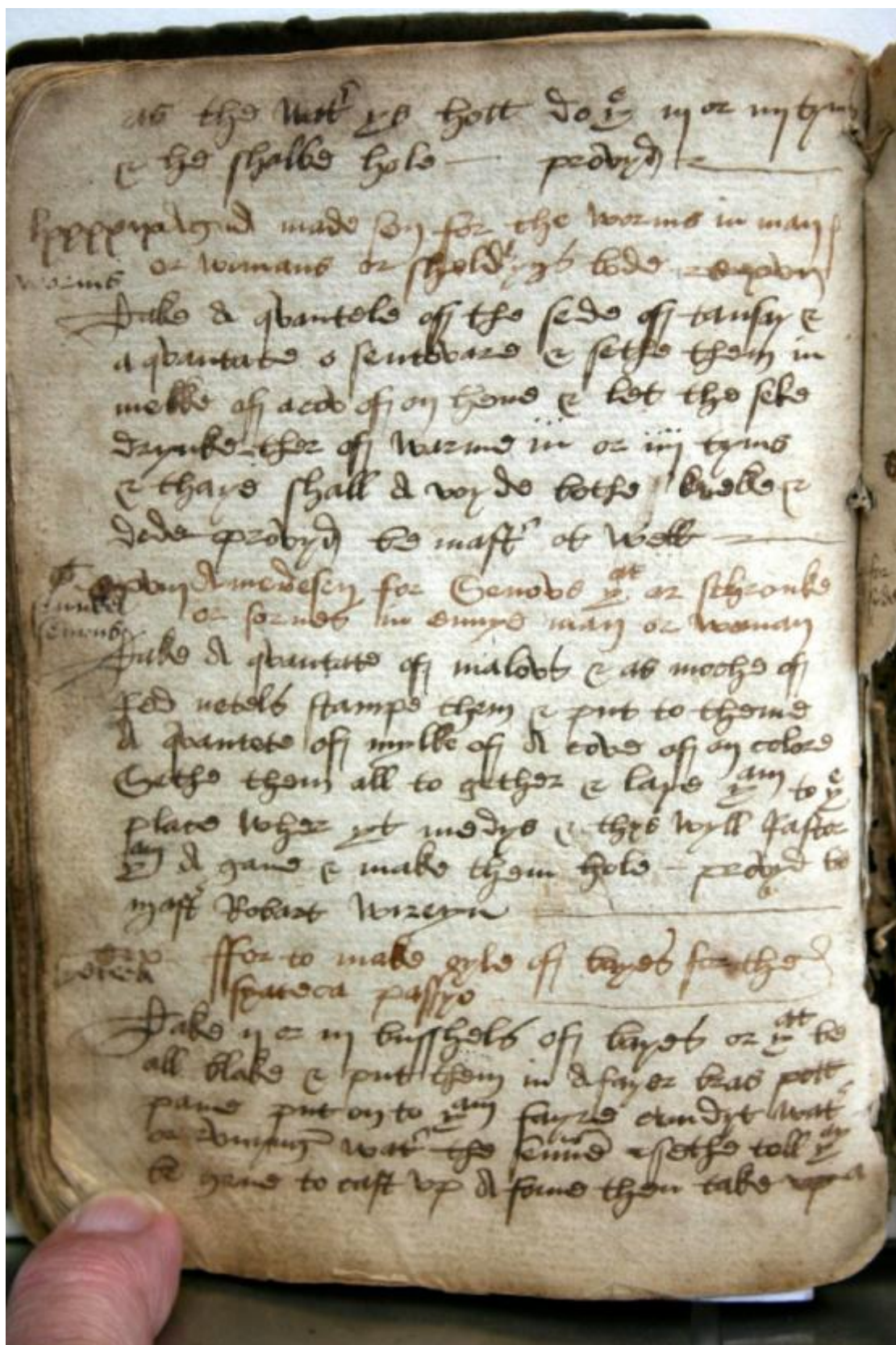
ffor the tothe ake ---

Take burso pastorys & brusyt & lay yt to the tuthe y^{at} akyth & yt shalbe hole for vij yers ----- provyd

Recipe 245
marys

ffor a dysseys that ys calyd the marys --

Take a skene of neue yarne & put yt in an ertheys pott & of iij galon & put y^{ar} to so moche water as well into the pott of clere rennyng wat^r & when the water ys hott put ther to a gud quantete of clene ashes as ye make for leye & make the pot to sethe & then let ordane a stole w^t a holl in yt & let the seke set ther on bar arste so long as the wat^r ys hott do y^s iij or iiij tymes & he shalbe hole --- provyd



B13 008

Recipe 246
worms

gud madesen for the worms in man or womans or sheldr̃yns bode

Take a quantete of the sede of tansay & a quantete o Sentovare & sethe them in melke of a cov of on heue & let the seke drynke ther of warme iij or iiij tymes & thays shall avoyde bothe kuele & dede -- provyd be mast^r ot well

Recipe 247

medesen for senove y^{at} ar shranke or sornes in ennye man or woman

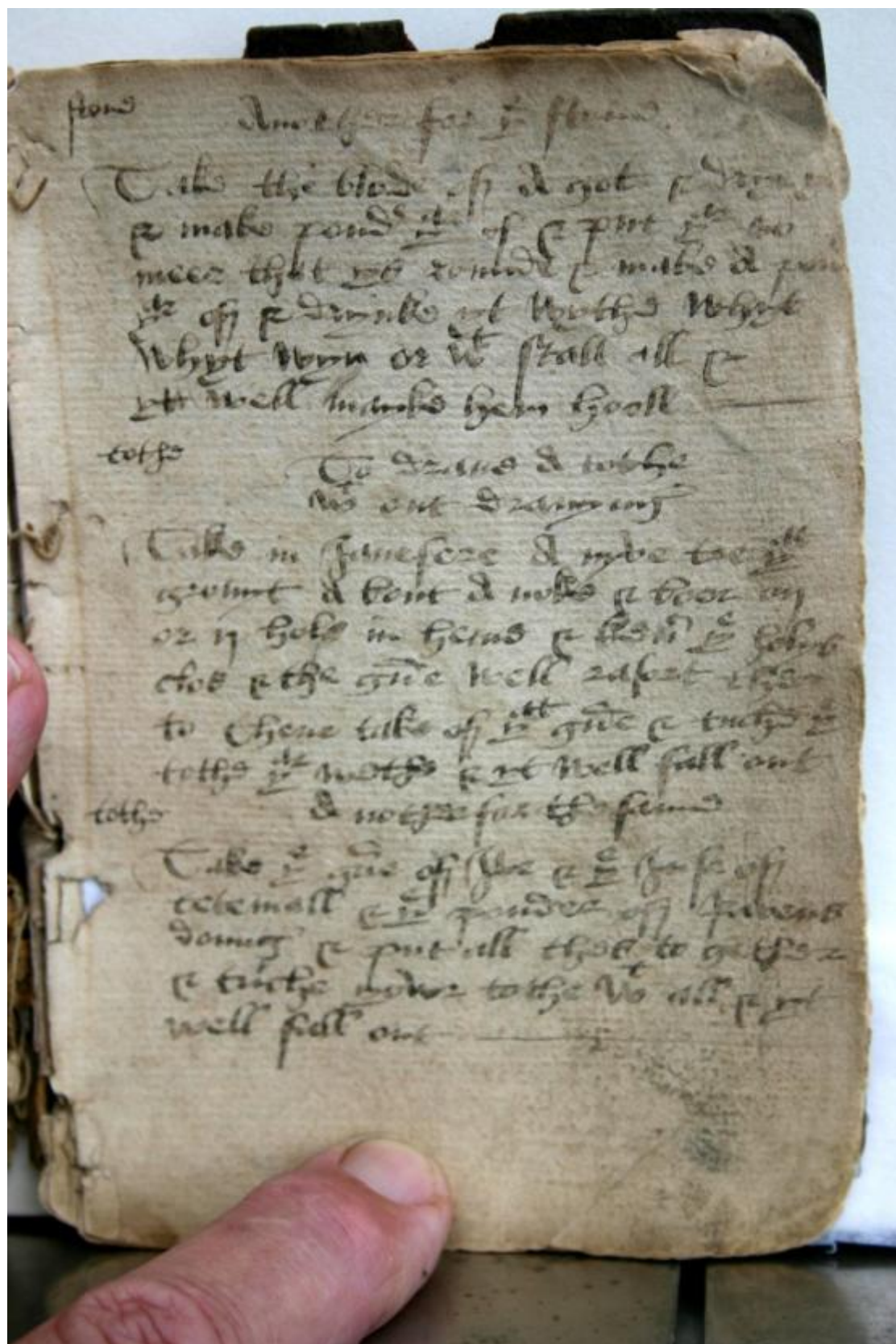
Take a quantete of malous & as moche of red netels stampe them & put to theme a quantete of mylke of a coue of on colore sethe them all to gether & laye y^{am} to y^e place wher yt nedys & thys wyll rastor y^{am} a gayne & make them hole --- provyd be master Robart Wireyn

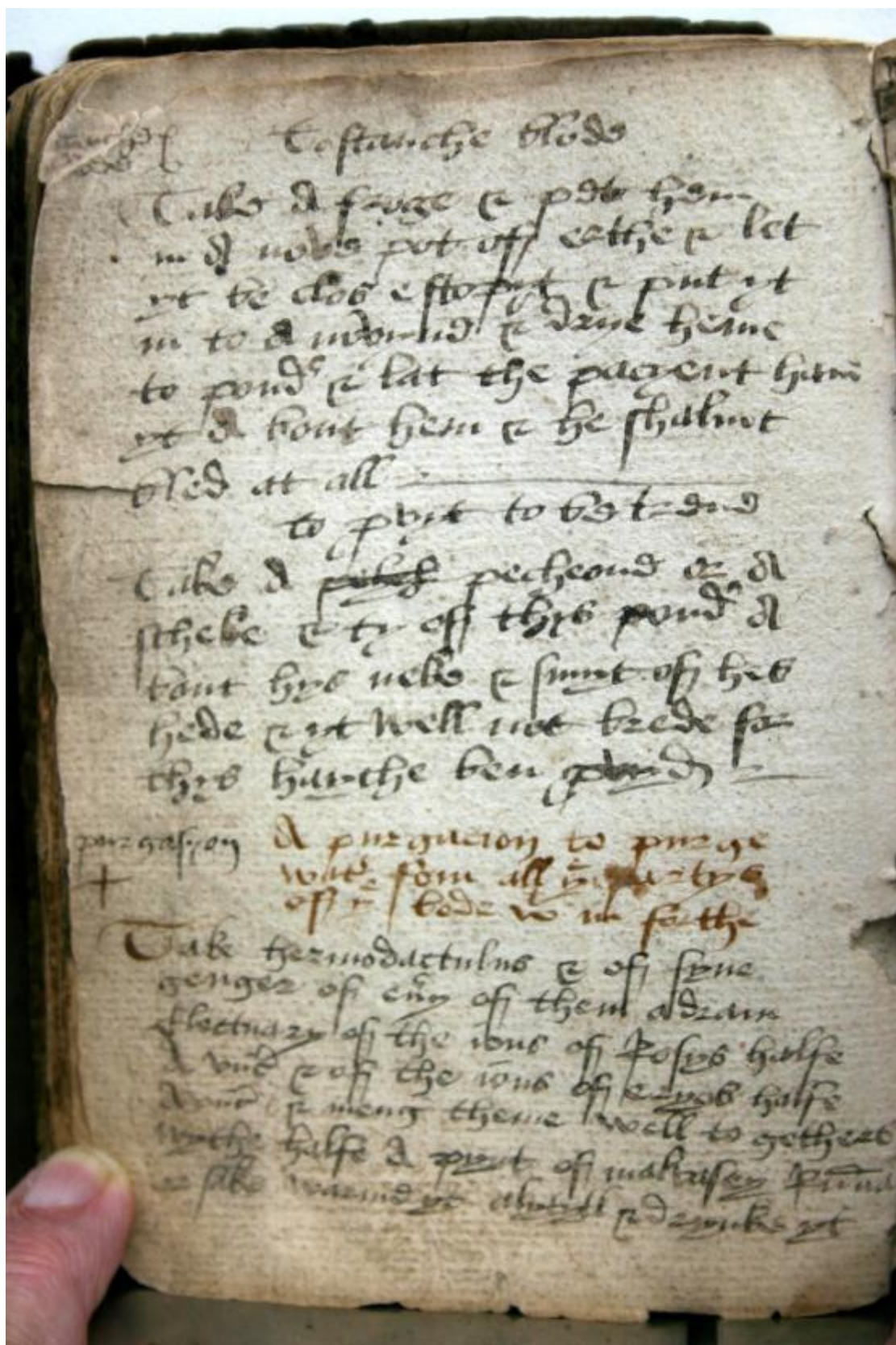
Recipe 248
syteca

ffor to make oyle of bayes for the syteca passye

Take ij or iiij busshels of bayes or y^{at} be all blake & put them in a fayer bras pane put on to y^{am} fayer clandyt wat^r or runyng wat^r the semme& sethe tell y^{am} be gene to cast up a fome then take a -----







B13 010

Recipe 249
stone

another for y^e stone

Take the blode of a gote & drye yty^{at} to meer that ys romade
.....& drynke yt wythe whyt wyn or w^t stall all yt
.....hool

Recipe 250
tothe

To draue a tothe w^t out drauyng

Take in janeferre a nyve tre y^{at} grouyt a bout a noke & boor on or ij hols in
heme & kev^r y^e holys clos & the gvcether to thene take of y^{at}
gvce & tuche y^ayt well fall out

Recipe 251
tothe

Another for the same

Take the gvce of jve & the juse of tetemall & y^e poudre of ravens doung &
put all thes to gether & tuche yowr thothe w^t all & yt well fall out

B13 011

Recipe 252
staunch blode

To staunche blode

Take a froge & pet hem in a neue pot of erthe & let yt& stopyt &
putyt in to a novyne & dry heme to poud^r & pacyent hav yt a bout
hem & he shalnot bled at all

to pvyt to be treue

Take a pecheone or a scheke & ty of thys poud^r a bout hys & smyt of hes
hede & yt well not blede for thys hay provyd

And aft' the first sege thoue shall
 have muche water to en frome the
 cress the drinke be stronge take
 alett & venobus & houlde to ynde
 moos & whole tell & medesey be
 dyffered

ag 12

A medesey for the Agone

Take plantain & Erbe small &
 have salt & stampe them all together
 & drinke it warme wth white wyne
 & a fox is appoynted to wth mth mth mth
 so doinge thoue shalbe good

Debellamus so a gū pcalid
 hott & moist

Thys gū is good for flux of the wombe
 & epistomy entrined & the both & stone
 & chone & is good for cutting of venem
 best to pth wth veneger & yff it be
 soe in veneger wth ne wth chese wth wth
 wth gū for hem at
 the place be unynted ther wth chese
 wth gū for Onelung & in pth wth of
 genetis

B13/B14 011

Recipe 253
purgasyon

A purgacion to purge wat^r from all y^e partys of y^e bode w^t in
forthe

Take hermodactulus & of fyne genger of ev^y of them a dram electuary of the
ious of rosys halfe a vnce & of the ious of eryos halfe a vnce & meng theme
well togethere wyth halfe a pynt of malvasey runa or sake warme yt a lytell &
drynke yt and aftr the fryst sege thene shall have moche water to cm frome
the

& yf the drynke be stronge take a test & venekar & houlde to yovr noos a
whyle tell ye meddesen be dyjested ----

B14 001

Recipe 254
ague

a medesen for the ageue

Take plantyn & erb ryall & baye salt & stampe them all to gether & drynke yt warme w^t whyt wyne afor y^e axsys cme & wⁱn iij tymes so doying theme shalbe hool –

Recipe 255

debellame ys a gum so calyd
ott & moyst

Thys gm ys gud for flux of the wome & epostom outuard & brekyth ye stone & y^e chone & ys gud for bytyng of venom^r bestys tepyt w^t veneger & yff yt be sode in wyne w^t ceryse ytt ys very gud for hem y^{at} ys brokyn yf the place be anoyntyt ther w^t & yt ys gud for suellyng & in postumys of ye geneturs

[illegible]

1693
72 For knowe off 2 Colles may shal land
in take in many off in Colles & put it in
to a y^e newall & take 2000 mottell day
at day wifay in many y^e hot so saying
at y^e y^e possit & put to the glay
& on in mowing & if in mottell hand
if ffect it y^e & to day of life & if y^e h
y^e do at it would & if y^e do

^{Answer}
I also I vnderstand of it soles & do it in to d
wofull & litle woman in the & v. Sit
many people get at as off it most
to seeke to sell here & it is sold alone
but does such =

B14 002

Recipe 256
lepp

to knoue yf a man be lepper or no

kens the fyrst ys yf hys lytyll fengers ley stoff & starke heys a lep
The ij yf y^{our} pour any wat^r a pon any member of hys bode & yt glyde awaye &
slyme as yt war anoyntet he is a lep
The iij token yf he have curnels ond^r hys tong & lye bolyng as yt war y^e
quence ye ys he lep
The iiij token yff theme take hes blode & drope yt in to wat^r & yff ye blode
turne to wat^r he ys lep
The v yf hys blode stenke he ys lep

Recipe 257
to leve or dye

To knoue yff a seke man shall leve or dy

Take y^e uryng of y^e seke & put yt in to a uryball & take rede nettell crops at
even when y^e mayn ys hot so soun as yt pisset put to the glas & cm on y^e
morowe & yf y^e netell stande up steff yt ys a token of lyfe & yf he hang hede
as yt woulde dye yt ys dethe

Recipe 258

another

Take y^e uryng of ye seke & do yt in to a vessell & take womans mylke y^{at} hays
a man schylde drop y^{at} on & yff yt mell to gether he shall leve & yf yt frete
alone he ys but dede surlye

B14 003

Recipe 259
for the fayse

yff a blan rase in a mans fase

Take tetemall & spurge & sethe theme in womans melke her w^t a noynt the
blans tetemall shall be gaderyd in the caneclere dayess & yt maye be kept all a
yere frace ys aide & reneue yt from rottyng

Recipe 260
jaloue jandys

ffor the jaloue jandys

Take saffron tumereke madynhere long pep poud^r all thes & gyfe yt ye seke to drynke ix dayes in gud ale & stall & he shalbe hool seker lye

Recipe 261

for the y^e rotelyng couhe in y^e brest & throt boyls & soor sydys & brest melte & stomoke

ke elenacapana groundswelly ysope centary merche & reue helwort pullyoll riall & nepte ryall an & do y^{ar} to pep & honay gode qtite temp thes well together & boyle he ou^r the fere & skemyt klene & aft^{ward} use y^{ar} of morn & even a sponful or towe at eu^y tyme

B14 004

Recipe 262
therst

ffor ye therste

and yf hys mouthe be drye & hys tonge full of flewme thys ye shal put away ye freme frome hys tong tak veneg^r & washe hys mouthe & tethe & when hys mouth ys well washet eat leuke hot watt^r & washe hys mouthe w^t in & so donne shave hys tong w^t a knyfe of tre & after w^t a clene clothe rouve hys tethe & the rofe of hys mouthe to have hys helthe bot bewar that hys hede ake not

Recipe 263
another

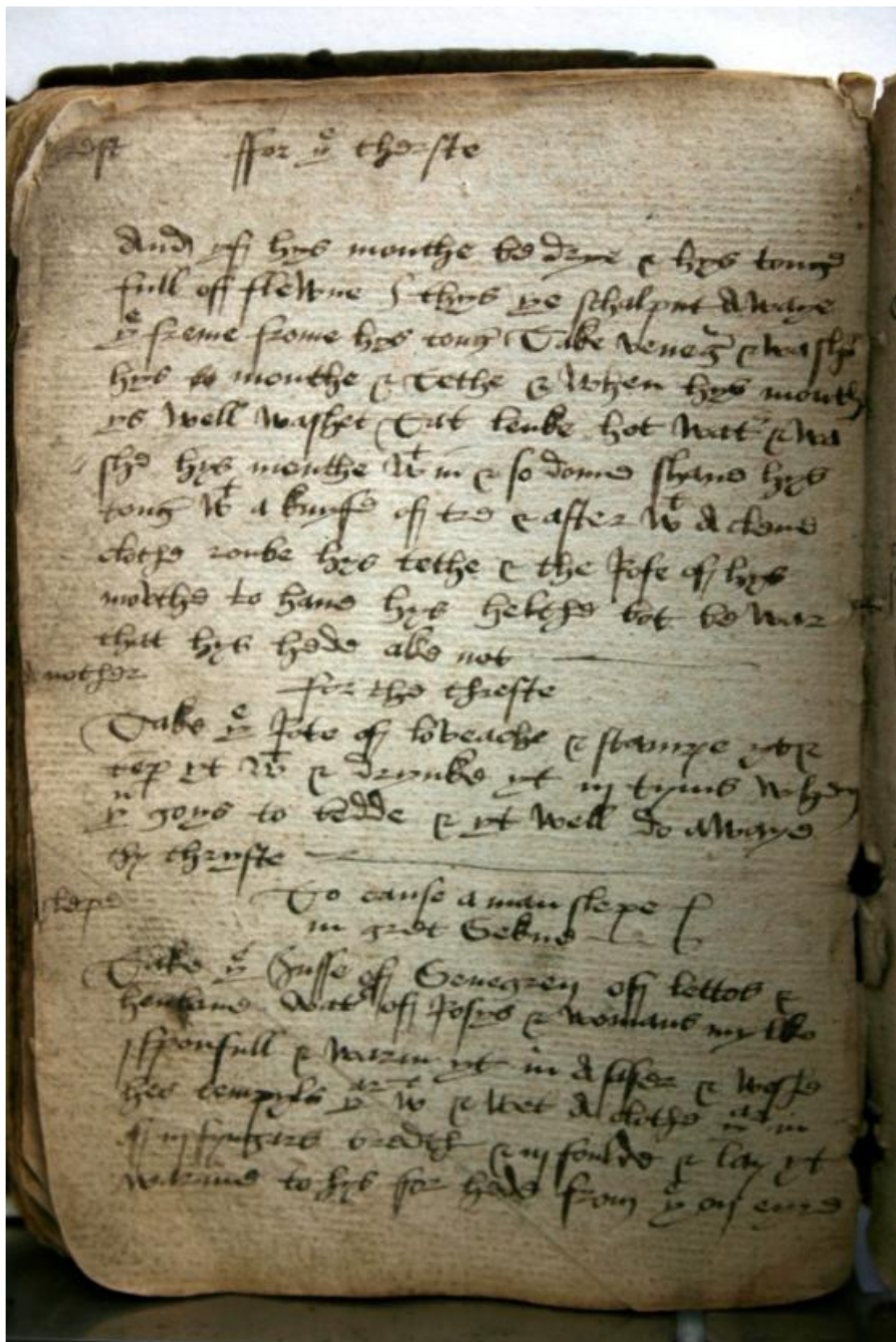
for the threste

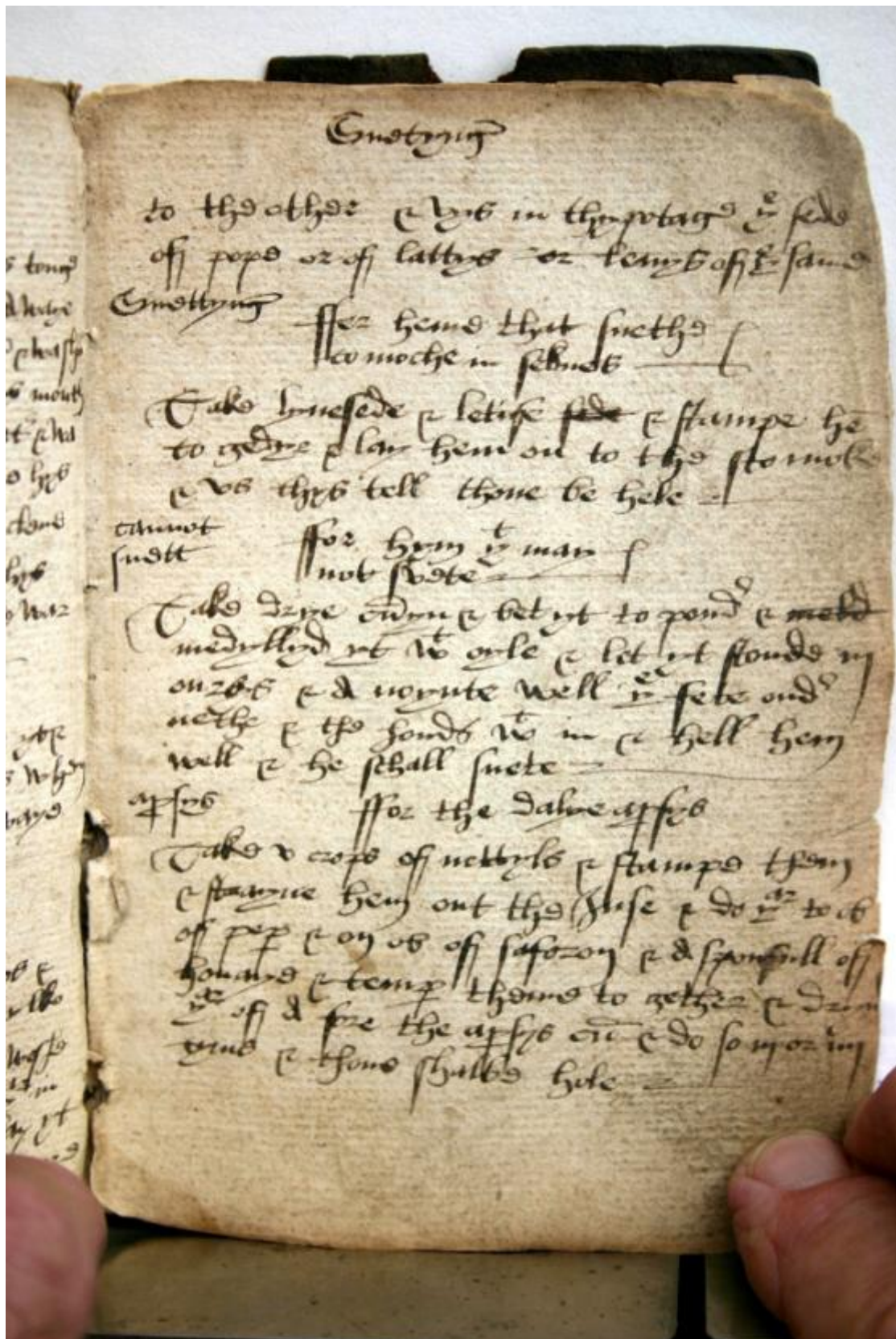
Take y^e rote of loveache & stampe yt & temp yt w^t & drynke yt iij tymes when y^u goys to bedde & yt well do awaye thy thryste

Recipe 264
slepe

To cause a man slepe in gret sekue

Take y^e jusse of senegren of lettos henbane wat^r of rosys & womans mylke j spoonfull & warm yt in a saser & weshe hes tempyls y^{ar} w^t & wet a clothe y^{ar} in of iij fyngars bredth & iij fouldes & lay yt warme to hys for hede from ye on eyre





B14 005

Recipe 265

Suetyng

to the other & vys in thy potage & sede of pope or of lattys or levys of
y^e same

Recipe 266
suettyng

fer heme that suethe to moche in seknes

Take lynesede & lettuce & stampe hem to gedyr & lay hem on to
the stomoke & vs thys tell thoue be hele

Recipe 267
cannot suett

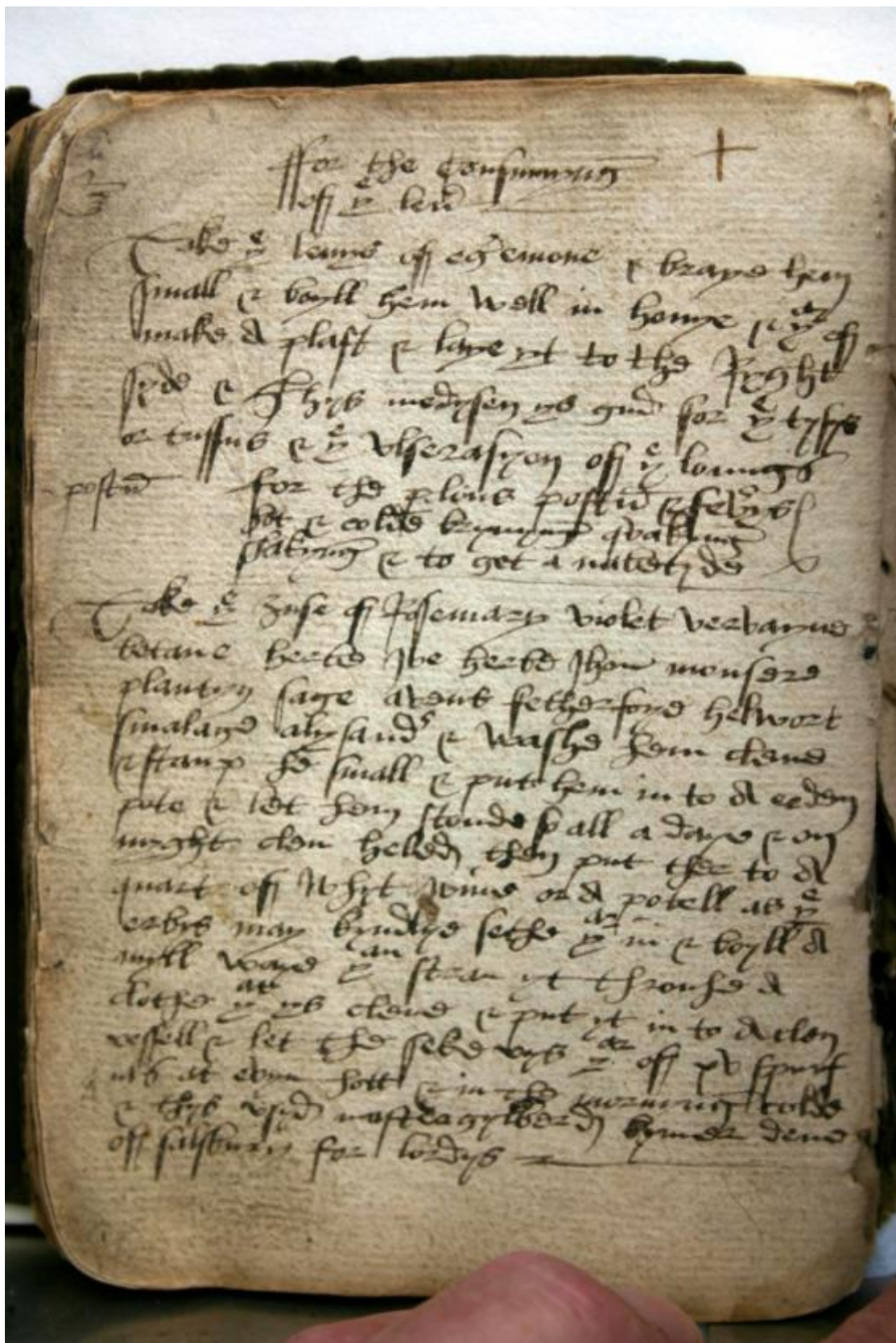
ffor hym y^r may not svete

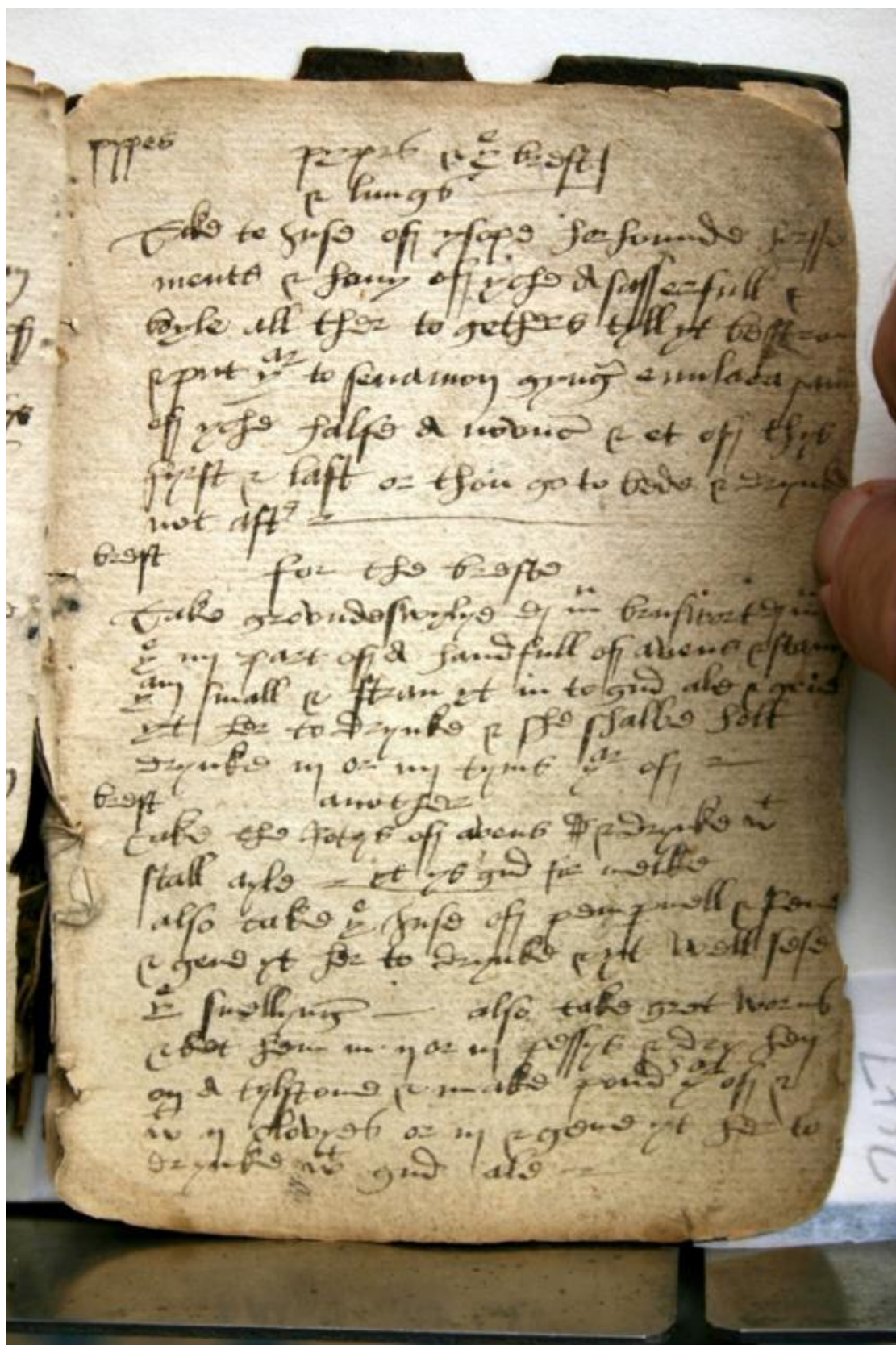
Take drye cumyn & bet yt to poud^r & medyllyd yt w^t oyle & let yt stonde iij
ourys & anoynte well y^e fete ondⁿethe & the honds w^t in hell hem well & he
schall suete

Recipe 268
axsys

ffor
the dalye axsys

Take v crops of nettyle & stampe them & strayne hem out the Juse & do y^{ar}
to ob of pep & on ob of saferon & a sponfull of honaye & temp theme to
gether & drynke y^{ar} of a fore the axsys cm & do so iij or iiij tims & thoue
shallbe hole





B14 006

Recipe 269
leve

ffor the consumyng of ye lev

Take y^e levys of egremone & braye hem small & boyll hem well in honye & y^{ar} of make a plast & laye yt to the ryght syde & thys medysen ys gud for y^e tysys & ye ulceracyon of y^e louns

Recipe 270

for the plins postm & fevys hot & colde brynyng quakyng postm shakyng & to get a nabertyde

ke y^e juse of rosemay violet vervayne betane herbe Jue herb John mousere plantyn sage avens fetherfoye helwort smallage alysands & wash hem clene & stamp he small & put hem into an erden pote & let hem stande so all a daye & onnyght clen heled then put ther to a quart of whyt wine or a potell as ye erbys may kindlye sethe y^{ar} in & boyle a myll waye y^{am} stran yt throuhe a clothe y^{at} ys clene & put yt into a clen vessell & let the seke vys y^{ar} of xv spunfuls at evyn hott & in the mornyng colde & thys vsyd mast^r ca gylberd kymer dene of Salisbury for lordys

B14 007

Recipe 271
pypes

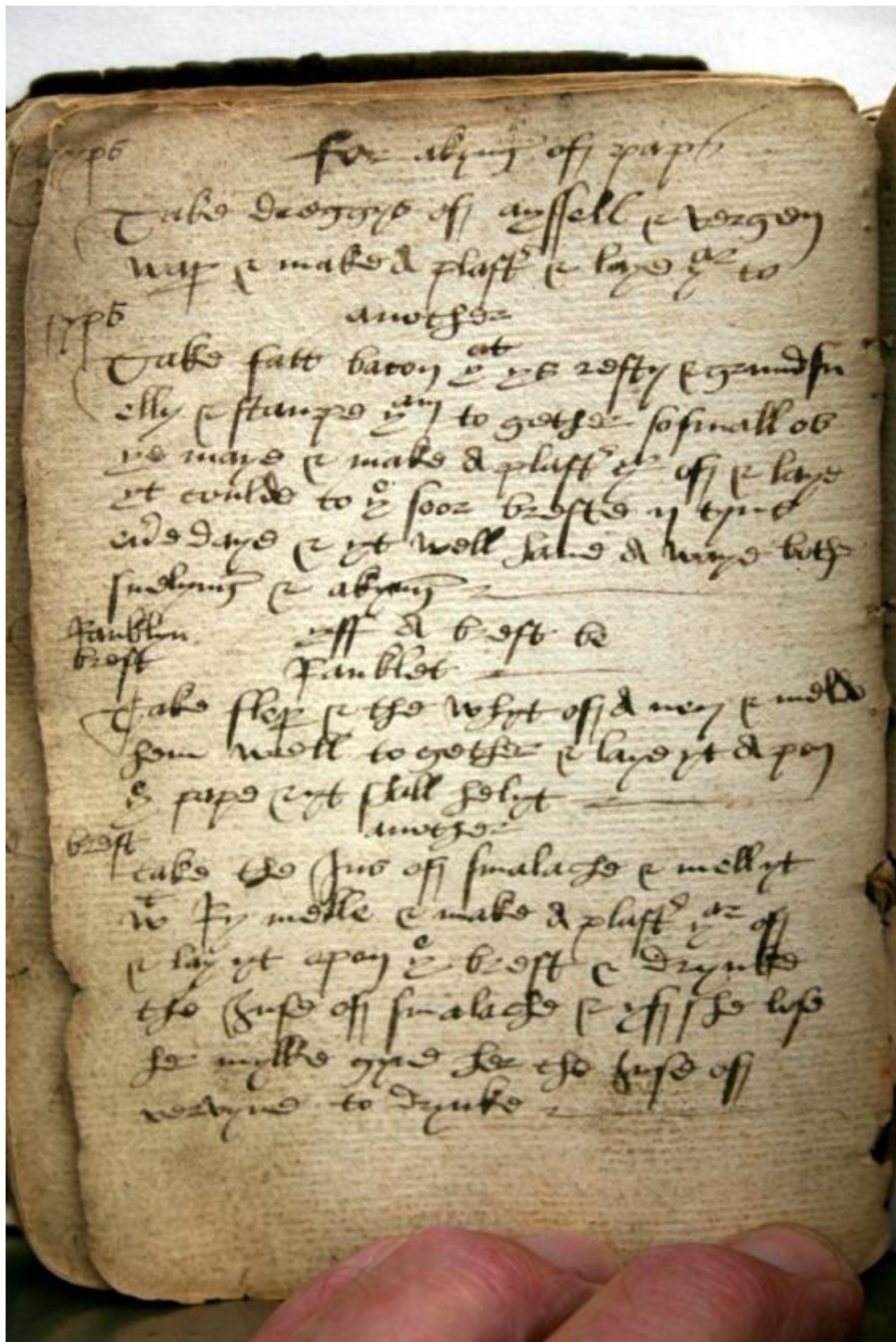
pyprs & y^e brest & lungs

Take te juse of ysope hor hounde horsse ments & hany of yche a sasserfull & boyle all ther to gethers tyll yt be stran & put y^{ar} to Senamon gyng^r & enulacapan of yche halfe a novnce & et of thys fyrst & last or thou go to bedde & drynke not aft^r

Recipe 272
brest

for the brest

Take grovndeswyoye di mⁿ bruswort di mⁿ y^e iiij part of a handfull of avens & stamp y^{am} small & stran yt in to gud ale & geve yt for to drynke & she shalbe holl drynke iij or iiij tymes y^{ar} of



Recipe 273

another

brest

ake the rotys of avens & drynke w^t stall ayle yt ys gud for melke also take ye juse of pempnell & reue & geue y^t her to drynke & yt well sese y^e swellyng --- also take gret worms & kot hem in ij or iij pessys & dry hen on a tylstone & make pouds y^{ar} of & w^t ij clovys or iij geue yt her to drynke w^t gud ale

B14 008

Recipe 274

for akyng of paps

pyps

Take dreggys of aysell & vergen wax & make a plast^r & laye y^{ar} to

Recipe 275

another

pyps

Take fatt bacon y^{at} ys resty & groundsuely & stampe y^{am} together so small as ye maye & make a plast^r y^{ar} of & laye yt coulede to ye soor breste ij tyns evre daye & yt well have away bothe suelyng & akyng

Recipe 276

yff a brest be ranklet

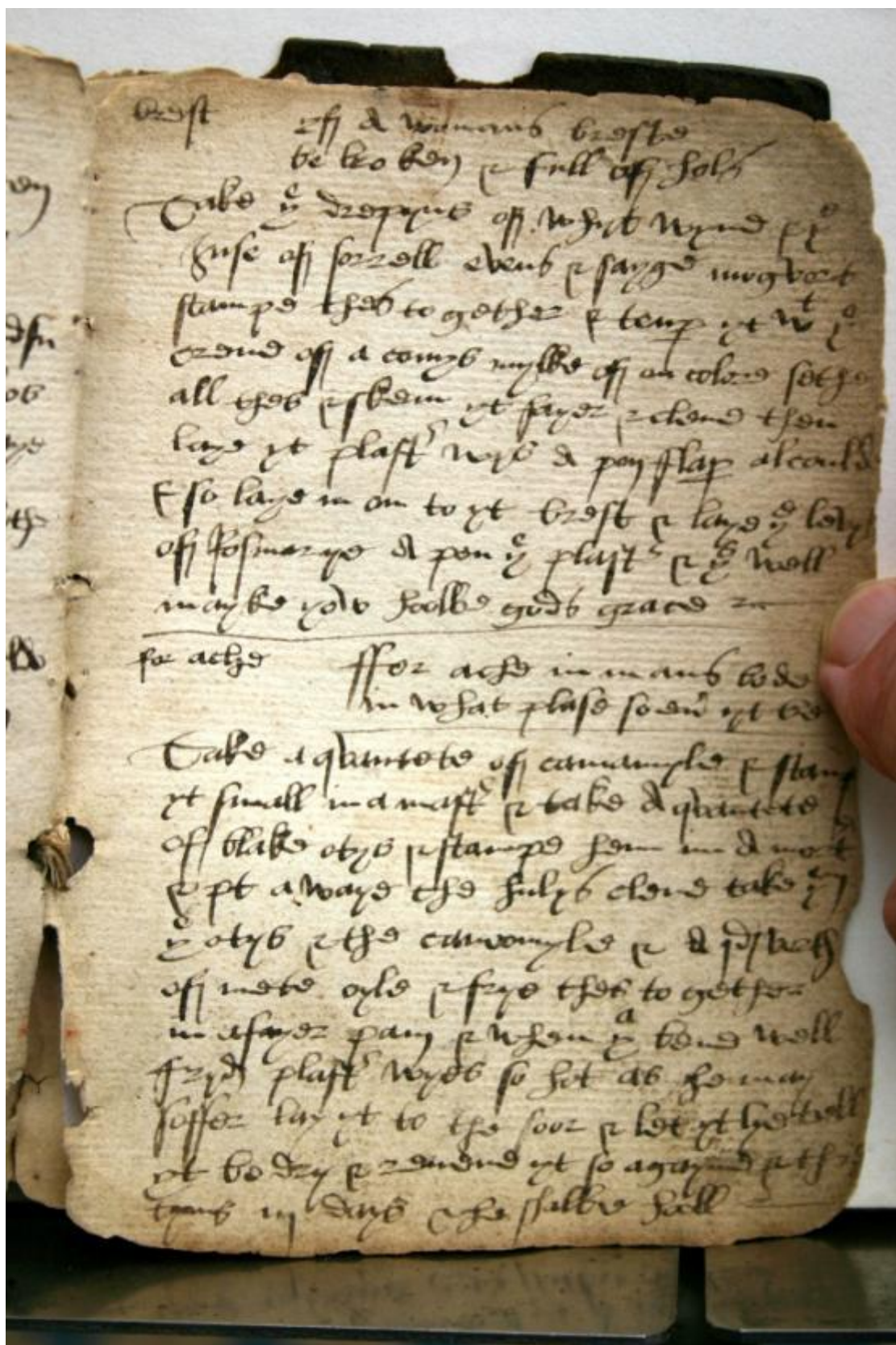
Ranklyn breast

Take flex & the whyt of a neg & mell hem well together & laye yt a pon ye paps & yt shall helyt

Recipe 277

another

Take the jus of smalache & mellyt w^t ry melle & make plast^r y^{ar} of & lay yt a pon yr brest & drynke the juse of smalache & yf she luse her mylke gyue her the juse of verryne to drynke



B14 009

Recipe 278

yf a womans breste be broken & full of hols

Take y^e drepyns of whyt wyne & y^e Juse of sorrell evens sayge mugvort
stampe thes to gether & temp yt wth y^e creme of a conys mylke of on colore
sethe all thes & skem yt fayer & then laye yt plast^r wys a pon flax al coulde &
so laye in on to ye brest & laye ye levys of Rosmarye a pon y^e plast^r & yt well
mayke yow hool be gods grace

Recipe 279
for ache

ffor ache in mans bode in what plase so ev^s yt may be

Take a quantete of camamyle & stamp yt small in a mast^r & take a quantete of
blake otys & stampe hem in a mort^r & pt awaye the holys clene take y^{an} ye
otys & the camomyle & a idj verth of mete oyle & frye thes to gether in a
fayer pan & when y^a bene well fryd plast^r wyes so hot as he may soffer by yt
to the soor & let yt lye tell yt be dry & remeue yt so agayne & thre tymes iij
days & he shalbe hool

B14 010

Recipe 280
emorodys

To hell the emoradys

Take beuglas & clare fyde honay put *y^{ar}* to brenston fyne poud'yd & make a
salf *y^{ar}* of & ytt well hel heme

Recipe 281
for farys

Iff a man be takyn w^t the farys

Take a nerbe that berys a yallow floure w^t ys callyd hors flours & senegren &
ot meel & plast'ye ytt coulede to the grevyd plssys & he schall bothe purge &
be hopyn in the malodye

Recipe 282
anache

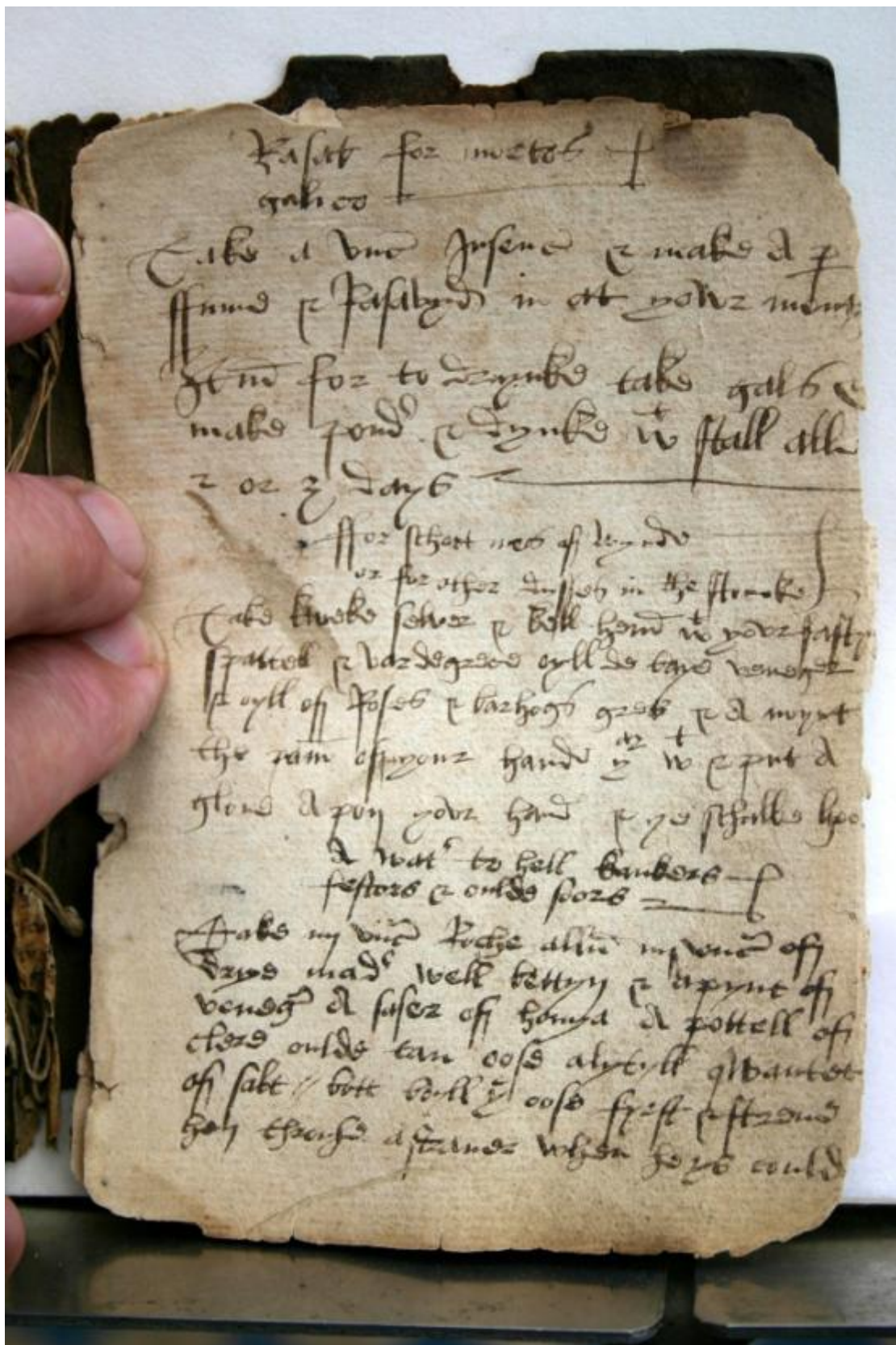
ffor a nayche

Take cantarradas & pepp & venekar & mustard & make a plast^s *y^{ar}* of & laye a
pon the sore

Recipe 283
skab or sasfleme
fase

for a skabe or a sasfleme fayse

Take garleke & honnye & stampe *y^{am}* to gether & laye yt apon
y^e soor & ye shalbe hool



B15 001

Recipe 284

Rasat for merbos galico

Take a vnce jnsence & make a p ffume & rasavyd in at yowr mouth
Itm for to drynke take gals & make poud^r & drynke w^t stall alle 2 or 3 days

Recipe 285

Ffor schort nes of wynde or for other dysses in the stomoke

Take kweke selver & kell hem w^t yovr fastyng spattell & vardegrece oyll de
baye veneger & oyll of roses & barhogs gres & a noynt the pam of your
hande y^{ar} w^t & put a gloue a pon your hand & ye shalbe hool

Recipe 286

a wat^r to hell kankers festors & oulde soors

Take iiij vnce roche alum & iiij vnce of drye mad^s well bettyn & a pynt of
venegr a saser of hony a pottell of clere oulde cou hoof a lytyll quantet of salt
// bott boyll y^e oofe fyrst & strene hem throuhe a straner when he ys coude
& then put y^{ar} to all your for sayd stuf in a clene pan & let yt boyell tell halve
be wastytt & well stand opon ons nayll & then let yt boyll a lytyll longger then
stran ye a gayn & kepe yt in a glas & washe y^e soore ther wyth & take a lenet
clothe & wett in y^e lecor & laye yt a pon & thys well make ytt hool

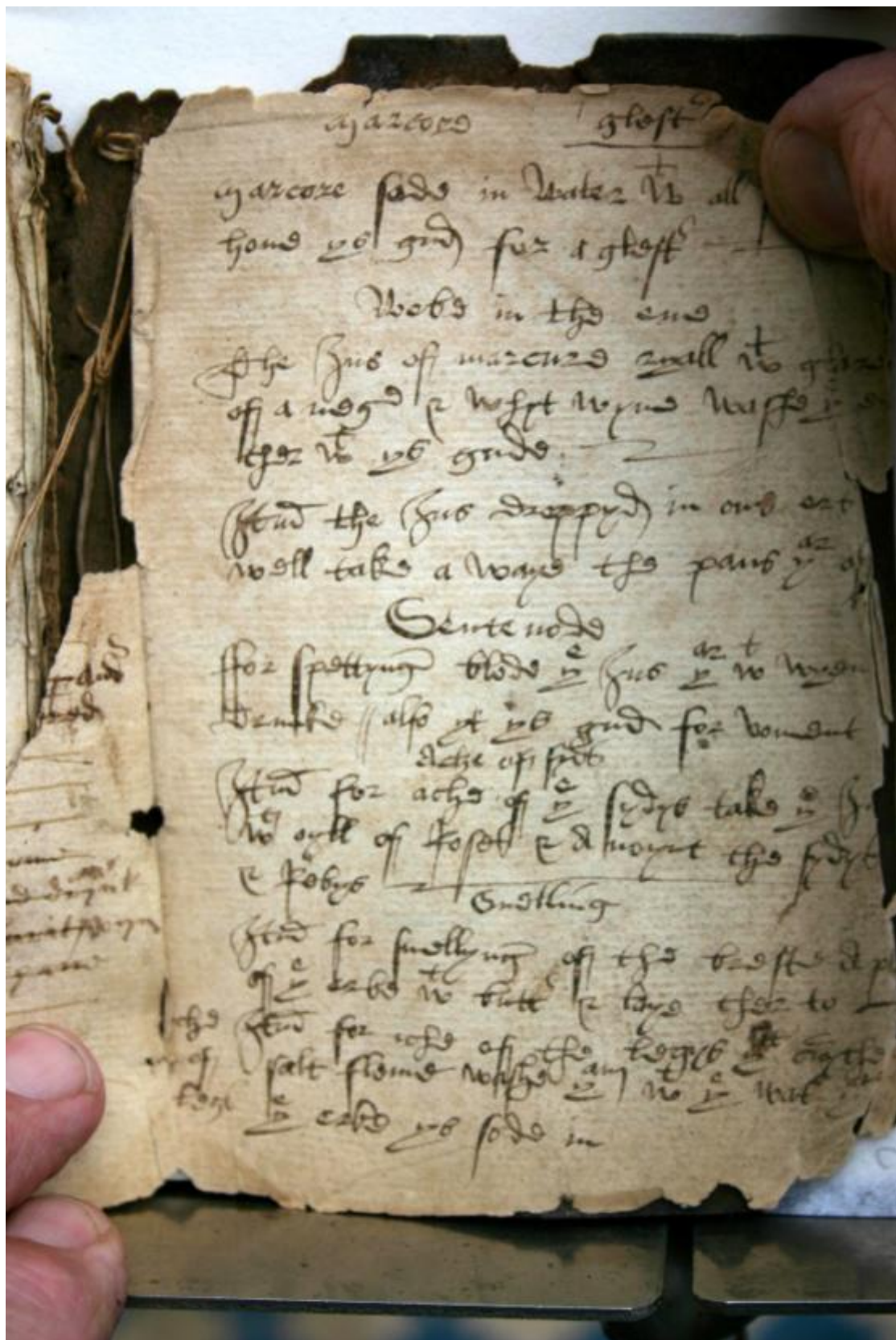
[illegible]

B15 002

Recipe 287

Ffor y^e brokyn man or woman or schylde

Take x rede snals mayde in poud^r & geue eve other day on of y^e to drynke
w^h whyte wyne & yt well helpe her w^h in iiij tymes drynkyn



B15 003

Recipe 288

cyarcore

glests

cyarcore sede in water w^t all salce & hone ys gud for glest^r

Recipe 289

Sentenode

ffor spottyng blode ye Jus y^{ar} w^t wyen drinke // also yt ys gud for voment

ache of syds

Itm for ache of y^e syds take ye jus w^t oyll of roses & anynt the sydes & rebys

ache of legs

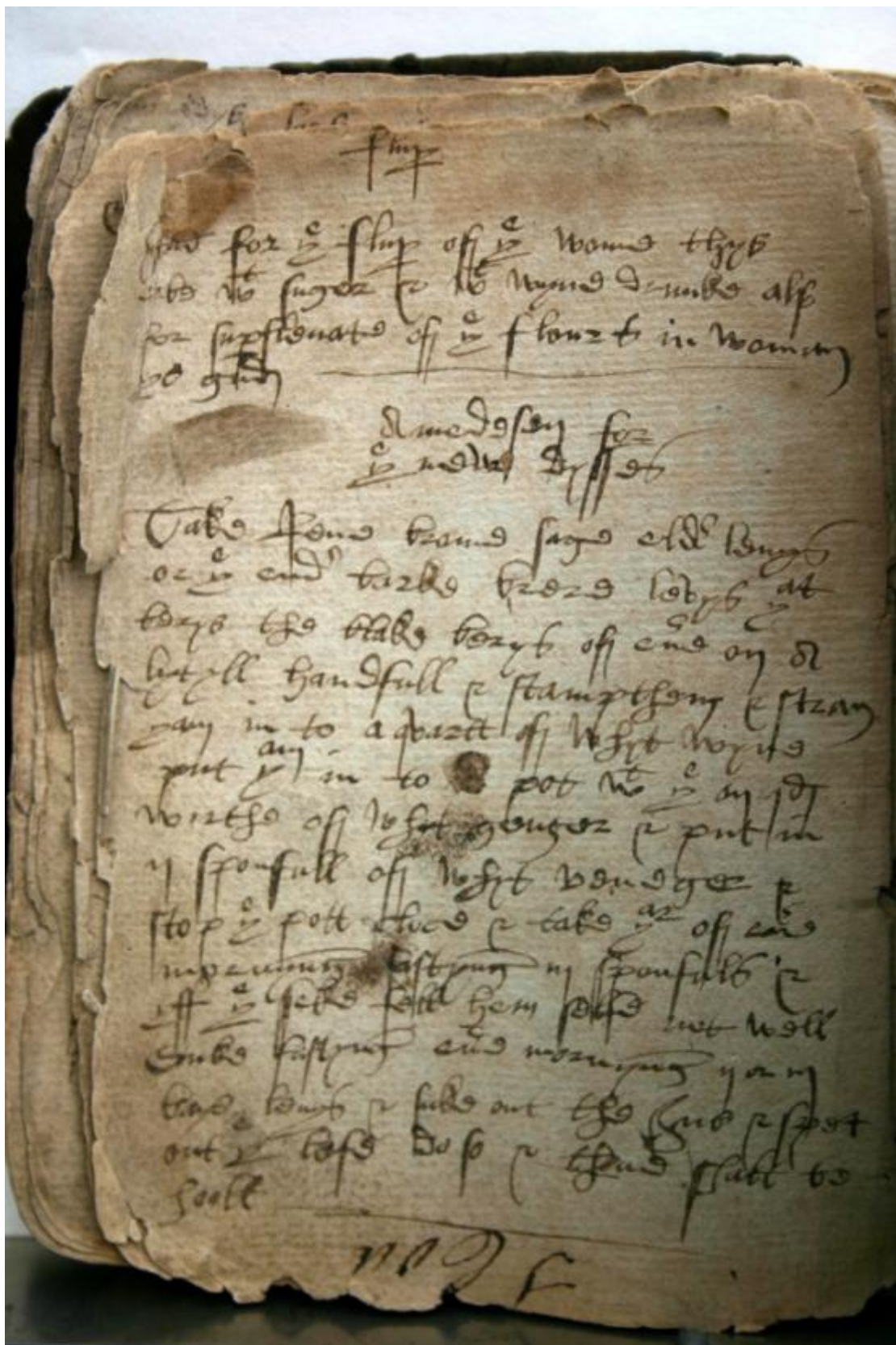
Suelyng

Itm for suellyng of the breste a plast^r of ye erbe w^t butt^r & lay ther to

Itm for ache of the legys y^{at} salt fleme wash y^{am} w^t y^t wat^r y^{am} y^e erbe ys sode in

Flux

Itm for ye flux of ye wome thys erbe w^t suger & w^t wyne drinke alsofor
supfleuate of ye flours in woman ys gud



B15 004

Recipe 290

A medesen for ye newe dysses

Take reue brome sage eld^r levys of ye ends barke brere levys y^{at} berys the
blake berys of evre on a lytyll handfull & stamp them & stran y^{am} in to a quart
of whyt wyne put y^{am} in to a pot w^t y^e on j dj worth of whyt veneger & stop
ye pott cloce & take y^{ar} of every mornyng fastyng ij sponfuls & yff ye seke fell
hem selfe not well suke fastyng evre mornyng ij or iij baye levys & suke out
the Jus & spet out ye lefe do so & theme shalt be hool

Appendix 2. The leather cover

The outer cover is a separate loose cover of plain, undecorated, soft brown leather (see App 2.1). Although this has not been examined microscopically, the thickness and texture suggest that it is probably cow hide. Since the leather is unmarked, it cannot be directly dated without destructive analysis, and since it is not directly attached to the book, there is no way of telling whether or not it is of the same date as the binding of the notebook. There is no particular reason to suppose that it is a later addition, but it is not impossible.



App. 2.1 The leather outer binding of the Ince book

The cover was made in two main pieces, sewn together along a single seam, apparently stitched edge to flesh on both pieces. The two pieces have become separated, and the seam edge on the main cover has disappeared. This is consistent with the generally worn and frayed edges of the cover. The smaller piece is itself a composite, comprised of a flap to close around the exposed edge of the cover, and a decorative loop stitched to this edge to flesh with a coarse thread. The loop provided an anchor point for a string, ribbon or leather thong, which would then have been tied around the whole book to keep it closed. A small loop of coarse thread remains tied around the leather loop, but this need not be the original fastening, and may well be a later replacement. A facsimile of the leather cover (see App. 2.2), with the addition of a leather thong as fastening, shows how the cover would originally have appeared.¹

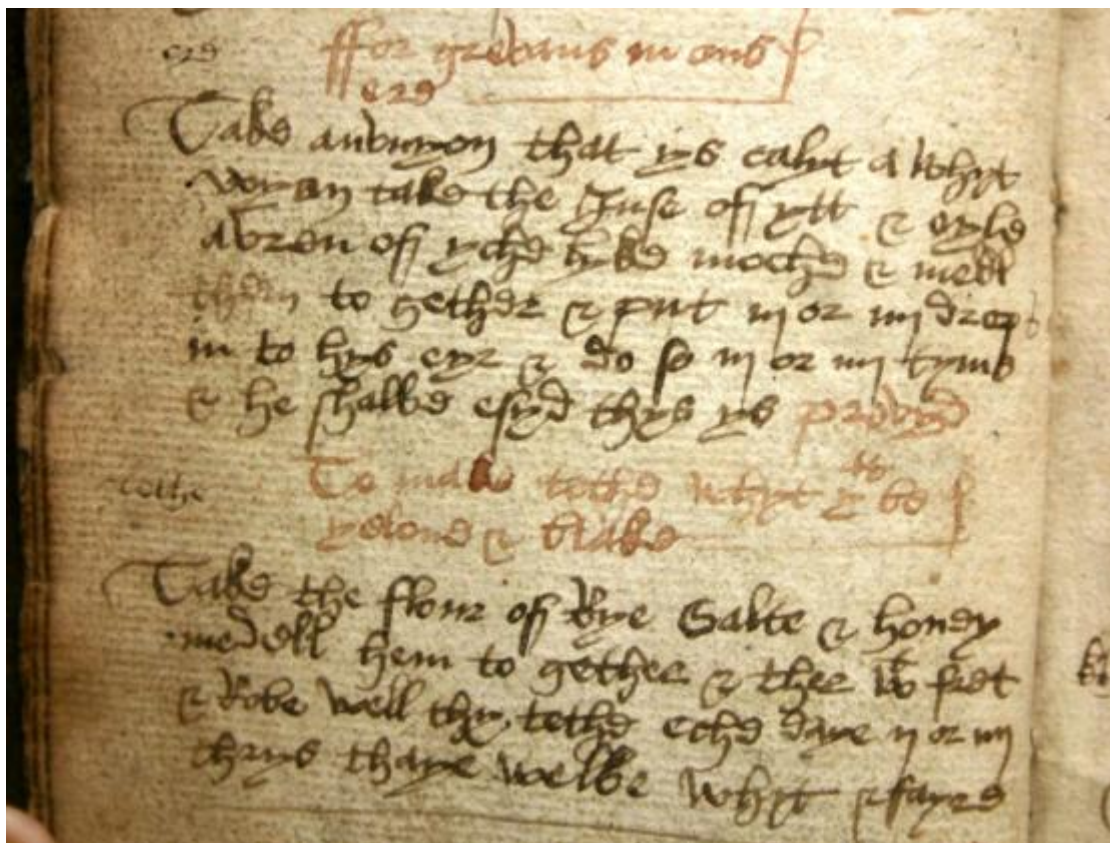


App. 2.2. The original leather cover of the Ince book, and a modern facsimile.

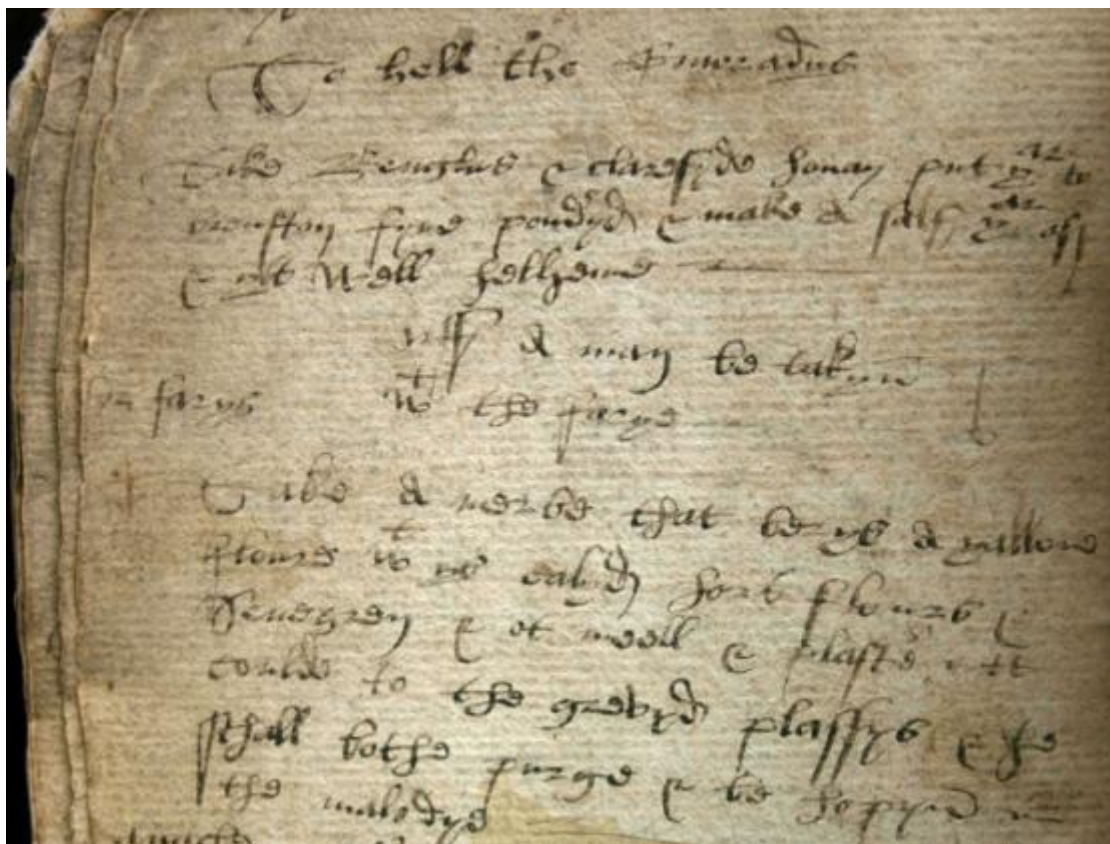
¹ I am grateful to Dr Gareth Williams of the British Museum for producing the facsimile for me.

Appendix 3: Examples of the three main handwriting styles

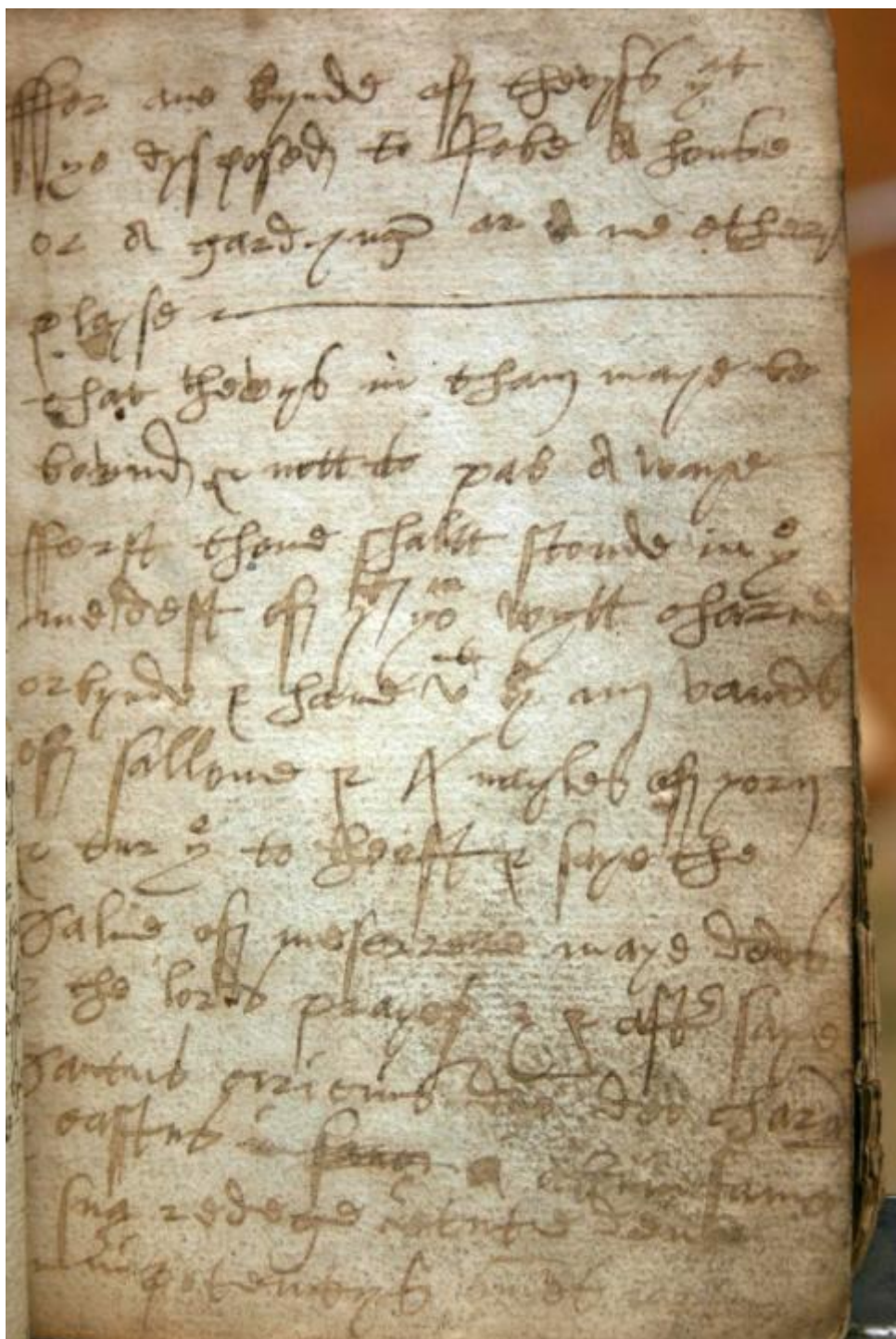
Below are examples of the three main styles of handwriting found in the text. These are respectively the main hand in which the text is written; the main hand used for the continuation of the text towards the end; and the hand used for the self-contained block of 'magical' recipes, numbers 33-36.



App 3.1. Recipes 26, 'ffor grevans in ons ere' and 27, 'To make tethe white that be yelow & blake'. These are typical of the main hand in which the manuscript is written



App 3.2. Recipes 280 'To hell the emoradys' and 281 'Iff a man be takyn w/ the farys'. These are typical of the hand used for the continuation from page B14 010 onwards, after the main hand ceases.




App. 3.1. Recipe 33, ffor one kynde of theyse y^e be disposed to Robe a house or a gardyng or ane other playse . This is representative of the hand which wrote recipes 33-36, all of which are magical in character, and differ in tone as well as handwriting from the other recipes in the text.

Appendix 5: Weekly entry of diseases and casualties, 6 July to 13, London, 1680

252569

The Diseases and Casualties this Week.

 <p> Ged. ————— 14 Cancer ————— 1 Canker ————— 1 Childbed ————— 5 Chiriflowe ————— 2 Consumption ————— 61 Convulsion ————— 62 Dropie ————— 9 Drowned 8, one at S. John at Hackney, one at S. Giles in the fields, one at S. Katharine Tower, one at S. Mary Illington, one at St. Paul Shadwel, one at S. Martin in the fields, and two at Stepny Evil ————— 2 Feaver ————— 43 Flux and Small pox ————— 12 </p>	<p> Flux ————— 1 French-pox ————— 1 Gripping in the guts ————— 57 Jaundies ————— 2 Impostume ————— 1 Infants ————— 3 Kill'd 2, one at S. Martin in the fields, and one by an accidental fall from a Wharf at S. Martin Vintrey ————— 2 Overlaid ————— 2 Quinsie ————— 1 Rickets ————— 5 Rising of the Lights ————— 1 Spotted Feaver ————— 9 Stillborn ————— 13 Stone ————— 1 Stopping in the Stomach ————— 4 Suddenly ————— 1 Surfeit ————— 8 Teeth ————— 29 Thrush ————— 1 Tiflick ————— 1 Ulcer ————— 1 Wind ————— 1 </p>
---	--

<p> Males — 96 Females — 131 In all — 227 </p>	<p> Males — 189 Females — 176 In all — 365 </p>
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Buried } Plague — 100

Increased in the Burials this week — 19

Partikes clear of the Plague — 132 Partikes infected — 20

the Assize of Bread set forth by Order of the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen.
A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Ten Ounces and an half, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight. And Household Bread made of Wheat to contain double the weight of White Bread.

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The diseases and casualties this week 6 July to 13, London, 1680. Shelfmark 252- 868q

<http://www.folger.edu/imgdtl.cfm?imageid=2754>

Appendix 6: Comparison of the *materia medica* in the Ince book with those found in three other published medical texts

This appendix provides a concordance of which *materia medica* appear in each of the three published texts which I have selected to compare with the Ince book, along with the Ince book itself. The information has been divided into three tables, covering herbal, mineral and animal based ingredients respectively.

App. 6.1 Herbal ingredients

INGREDIENT	THE TROTULA Page Number Chapter I except where stated	THE ENGLISH HOUSEWIFE Page Number	THE BIRTH OF MANKIND Page Number	INCE BOOK Recipe Number
Acacia	76			
Acorn (Oil) (Cups)		26	129, 130, 132* 129, 132	
Affodil (<i>properly</i> <i>Asphodel but</i> <i>often used for</i> <i>Daffodil</i>)		17, 29		
Agaric (Ground)	74, 122			
Agnus Custus/Tatsin		29, 30		
Agrimony	70, 116*	18, 30, 37*		32, 54, 122, 125, 127, 150, 269
Ale (Posset Ale) (Strong, old) (Stale)	70, 74	18 9, 11, 39* 12, 23, 24* 54		83, 240 4, 8, 9, 20, 31, 52, 54, 163a, 198, 223, 224, 226, 273

INGREDIENT	THE TROTULA Page Number Chapter I except where stated	THE ENGLISH HOUSEWIFE Page Number	THE BIRTH OF MANKIND Page Number	INCE BOOK Recipe Number
Alexander	138 (MM)	11, 35	181, 182, 183	
Almonds (<i>Almond Milk</i>) (<i>Oil of sweet almonds</i>) (<i>Bitter Almond Oil</i>)	113, 119 113	55, 56 10, 11	107, 126, 165* 183, 212	
Aloe (<i>Aloewood</i>)	82, 95* 82		170, 178, 271*	
Aloes Socotrine Aloes Hepatic		32	266 (G) 266 (G)	
Amees		25, 35		
Amomum		40		
Ammoniacum (<i>Resin gum</i>)	138 (MM)	51	119 142	
Anete			127, 145, 150	
Angelica (<i>Water of</i>)		12 131		
Anise	68	21		
Aniseed		11, 24, 25*	124, 125, 145*	102
Apples (<i>Apples fried with sugar</i>) (<i>Bitter Apple</i>) (<i>Roasted</i>) (<i>Cooking apple/ Pommwater</i>) (<i>Crab apples</i>)	73, 97* 73	50 27, 32 55	104, 132, 231* 104 144, 150, 179 102, 162	

INGREDIENT	THE TROTULA Page Number Chapter I except where stated	THE ENGLISH HOUSEWIFE Page Number	THE BIRTH OF MANKIND Page Number	INCE BOOK Recipe Number
Aristolochia Longa (<i>Birthwort</i>) (<i>Roots</i>)	67, 76	12, 21 51	119 144	
Aristolochia Rotunda (<i>Birthwort</i>)	122	40, 42	118, 119, 125*	
Armenian Bole (Armeniac)	70,76*	30, 43, 50*	128. 129, 130*	238
Artichoke			202	
Asafetida	82*		118, 119, 121*	
Asarum			124, 150	
Ash Tree (<i>Seeds</i>)	80	34		
Asparagus	139(MM)			
Asphaltum (Tree Resin)			145	
Asterion		15		
Avnce Seed				231
Balm (unspecified)	68	56	151	
Balsam (<i>Gum</i>) (<i>Fruit</i>) (<i>Juice</i>) (<i>Bark</i>)	73 139 (MM) 139 (MM) 139 (MM)			
Balsamum Cephalicum (<i>Oils of nutmeg, cloves & amber</i>)		46		

INGREDIENT	THE TROTULA Page Number Chapter I except where stated	THE ENGLISH HOUSEWIFE Page Number	THE BIRTH OF MANKIND Page Number	INCE BOOK Recipe Number
Barberries		11, 26	267 (G)	
Barley (Bread) (Flour) (Mead) (Meal) (Water/Ptisan)	70* 70, 116* 75* 75	23	119, 125, 158* 119	38, 248 109A
Basil (<i>sweet</i>)	161 (MM)		170, 171, 214*	
Bay leaves (Bay salt) (Oil)		56 16, 17 49, 50, 51	126	16, 17, 39, 248, 254 285
Bayberries (Leaves)			124, 125, 126*	
Bdellium (White as resin)	81 81	51	119, 254 119	
Beans (Bean Flour) (Roots)	75, 77* 84	36	159, 168, 171*	
Bear's-Foot			121, 214	
Beer		11, 26, 27*	179, 231	
Beets		14, 33, 49*	159, 164	
Belleric	140 (MM)			
Betony	68	15, 18, 38*		66, 102, 270
Beuglas/Buglos s				280
Bilberries	73*			
Bistort	100*			
Blackberry	103			290
Blueflower Oil			118, 121	

INGREDIENT	THE TROTULA Page Number Chapter I except where stated	THE ENGLISH HOUSEWIFE Page Number	THE BIRTH OF MANKIND Page Number	INCE BOOK Recipe Number
Borage (<i>Juice</i>)	92, 111	13 30	151, 231	6, 102, 103
Boxwood	73*		129, 170	
Bramble (<i>Red Brambles</i>)	70, 106		129	105
Bran (<i>Water</i>)	76 101, 120		121	24, 79
Brank-Ursine			195	
Brazilwood	115*			
Briar (<i>Leaves</i>) (<i>Berries of Sweet Briar</i>)		13 34		
Brockelhemp		24		
Brooklime (<i>Roots & Leaves</i>)		25		
Broom (<i>Butcher's Broom</i>) (<i>Broomwort</i>) (<i>Seed</i>)	116, 117 141 (MM)	14 34		290
Brown bread		40, 53		
Bryony (<i>red & white</i>) (<i>Buds</i>)	100, 119, 120*	40		
Buck's-horn plantain	70			
Buckthorn marrow	75			
Burdock	202	105		
Burnet		25, 36		

INGREDIENT	THE TROTULA Page Number Chapter I except where stated	THE ENGLISH HOUSEWIFE Page Number	THE BIRTH OF MANKIND Page Number	INCE BOOK Recipe Number
Cabbage (<i>Red Cabbage</i>) (<i>Wild Cabbage</i>)	95* 69, 121 96			
Calafine		38		
Calamint	67, 69, 72	13, 24	191, 266	66, 219
Camefely (<i>dried</i>)	124, 202, 227		133	
Camel (<i>Grass</i>) (<i>Camel's Hay</i>)	141 (MM) 141 (MM)			
Canel			118, 119, 124*	211
Cantarradas?				282
Caper Spurge	78			
Cardamom			159	
Caraway (<i>Seeds</i>)	67, 106	15 35, 57	172	180
Carduuss Benedictus (<i>Blessed Thistle</i>) (<i>Seed</i>)		38	129	
Carob Bean			268 (G)	
Carrot (<i>Carrot Seeds</i>) (<i>Deadly Carrot</i>) (<i>Wild Carrot – aka Queen Anne's Lace</i>)	68 163 (MM)			102
Casepepper (<i>corns</i>)		33		

INGREDIENT	THE TROTULA Page Number Chapter I except where stated	THE ENGLISH HOUSEWIFE Page Number	THE BIRTH OF MANKIND Page Number	INCE BOOK Recipe Number
Cassia Fistula (<i>Cassia Bark</i>) (<i>Cassia Lignea</i>)	110 142 (MM)		104, 118 118, 119, 149*	
Cats' Tails (Catkins)		47		184
Catmint/Nep	67, 69*	38, 42, 46*	150	
Cattham Aromaticus		16		
Celandine (<i>Greater</i>)	116	12, 20, 22*		
Celery (<i>Wild</i>) (<i>Wild celery root</i>) (<i>Juice</i>)	67, 68* 69 72			
Celtic Nard	142 (MM)			
Centaury (<i>Common</i>) (<i>Lesser</i>) (<i>Greater</i>)	68, 122 151 (MM)	25, 30	178	66
Chaff	108			
Chamomile (<i>Chamomile Oil</i>) (<i>Flowers</i>) (<i>Juice</i>)	72, 84	14, 35, 56* 53, 56 34 13	127 105, 126	3, 46, 79, 82, 105, 279
Chervil (<i>Water</i>)		18, 21 24	124	
Chestnut (<i>Sweet</i>)			101, 104, 230	
Chickpea	107		118, 119, 125*	

INGREDIENT	THE TROTULA Page Number Chapter I except where stated	THE ENGLISH HOUSEWIFE Page Number	THE BIRTH OF MANKIND Page Number	INCE BOOK Recipe Number
Chickweed	68	27		192
Choke Pears			102, 129, 132	
Cicer/ Cicercula			102, 118, 125	
Cinnamon	103*	24, 25, 26*	118, 119, 124	3, 102
Cinquefoil (leaves & roots)	144 (MM)	33, 48	129, 130	
Citron	143 (MM)		213, 214	
Clary	116, 117	38		
Cleavers	143 (MM)			
Clover	69			
Cloves	77, 89, 90*	25, 38, 56*	151, 175, 176*	84, 87, 112, 163
Cockle			269 (G)	
Coconut (Nut of Ind)			174	
Coleworts (Boiled)		18, 43 39		
Colocynth	69, 115			
Columbine	143 (MM)		129, 130	
Comfrey/Knit wort (Roots)	93*	34, 37, 54* 37	133, 163, 256	30, 86, 118
Corriander (powder) (Corriander Seed)	71 71	15	178, 261	77, 180
Costmary/Alec ost <i>Costus Amarus?</i>	72, 112 72	28, 56	119	

INGREDIENT	THE TROTULA Page Number Chapter I except where stated	THE ENGLISH HOUSEWIFE Page Number	THE BIRTH OF MANKIND Page Number	INCE BOOK Recipe Number
Cotton	83*			
Cowbane	67, 68*			
Cowslip	144 (MM)		165, 213, 272*	
Cress	109		121, 145, 177	
Crocus (<i>Oriental</i>)	144 (MM) 115			
Crowfoot		55		
Cuckoo Pint	100, 119			
Cumin (<i>Black Cumin</i>) (<i>Cumyng sede</i>) (<i>Dry Cumin</i>)	67, 68, 69, 72 * 140 (MM)	20, 25, 32*	125, 126, 133* 178	29, 86, 133A, 209, 240 267
Currants		39		
Cyarcore?				288
Cyclaminus (<i>Cyclamen</i>)			118	
Cypres Tree Nuts			129, 131, 132	
Daisy (<i>Roots</i>) (<i>Leaves</i>)	93	34 16, 19 47	129	86, 230
Damsons (<i>Bullace</i>)			129, 132	
Dandelion		9		83, 169
Danewort	72			
Dates (<i>Date pit</i>)	112, 122	38, 57	145	167
Dauke (<i>Wallwort</i>)		29		

INGREDIENT	THE TROTULA Page Number Chapter I except where stated	THE ENGLISH HOUSEWIFE Page Number	THE BIRTH OF MANKIND Page Number	INCE BOOK Recipe Number
Diacinnamomum (<i>Cinamon & other ingredients made into paste</i>)			122	
Diagalanga			122	
Diathessaron (<i>Columbine</i>)	67		129	
Dill	68, 69	36, 38	127	
Dittander		39		
Dittany	145 (MM)		144, 145	
Dock (<i>red</i>) (<i>roots</i>)	111*	42 18, 45 19	179	137
Doronicum			125, 181	
Dodder (<i>Thyme</i>)	99 161 (MM)			
Dog Fennel		38		
Dragon's Blood <i>Sanguin Dragonis</i>	70, 76	22	128, 129, 131* 128, 131	
Dropwort	121			
Dry Rot of Wood	95			
Eglantine	70, 119			

INGREDIENT	THE TROTULA Page Number Chapter I except where stated	THE ENGLISH HOUSEWIFE Page Number	THE BIRTH OF MANKIND Page Number	INCE BOOK Recipe Number
Elder (<i>Elder Leaves</i>) (<i>Elder Bark</i>) (<i>Elder Berry</i>) (<i>Elder Flowers</i>) (<i>Roots</i>) (<i>Buds</i>)	90, 91	19 10, 13 45, 47 33 48, 54	171	89 168 78 193
Elecampane	99, 120			
Elm Tree (<i>rind</i>)	71, 116	47		
Emblie?	146 (MM)			
Endive		22, 24, 25*	170, 171, 174*	
Erb Ryall				254
Euphrasy		22		
Featherfew		12, 13, 17*		55
Felwort	67	39		
Fennel (<i>Red</i>) (<i>Water</i>) (<i>Roots</i>) (<i>Seeds</i>) (<i>Juice</i>)	67, 69*	17, 21, 39* 22, 50, 55 24 27, 30, 37* 30, 57 31	124, 125, 151*	5, 66, 98, 101, 102, 105, 175, 215, 229, 231
Fern (<i>Osmund</i>)		37, 54		81
Fenugreek	72, 74, 75, 76*	32	105, 118, 126*	45, 161
Figs		28, 42, 53	121, 144, 164*	51
Firewater		40		
Figwort	122			

INGREDIENT	THE TROTULA Page Number Chapter I except where stated	THE ENGLISH HOUSEWIFE Page Number	THE BIRTH OF MANKIND Page Number	INCE BOOK Recipe Number
Filipendula		35, 36		
Flax (<i>Tow</i>)	82, 95 123	17, 18		214
Fleabane	95, 105, 109			
Fleawort	75*			
Frankincense/ Olibanum (<i>Frankincense White</i>)	76, 79, 81, 110* 129, 131, 132	50, 59	121, 126, 128*	98, 154, 227
Fumitory	68, 111			
Galangal (also Galingale) (<i>Powder</i>)	103 *	35, 57 30	194, 214, 269*	
Galbanum	72 *	51, 53	118, 121, 144*	
Garlic (<i>Crow Garlic</i>) (<i>Wild</i>)	69, 84 144 (MM) 106		192, 215, 231*	283
Germander (<i>Mountain</i>) (<i>Wall</i>) (<i>Common Germander Root</i>)	72 106 162 (MM) 72	47	124	
Ginger	69, 103*	13, 25, 33*		8, 40, 102, 181, 194, 253
Gladden (Stinking Iris)	98, 100			
Gladiolus				115, 225
Gooseberries				164
Gourd (Wild)	123 80		71, 119, 166*	

INGREDIENT	THE TROTULA Page Number Chapter I except where stated	THE ENGLISH HOUSEWIFE Page Number	THE BIRTH OF MANKIND Page Number	INCE BOOK Recipe Number
Grain (<i>Cooked</i>)	73	52		
Grapes (<i>Malmsey</i>) (<i>Wine</i>)	81	16, 37, 42*	150, 195	46, 253
Great Plantain	70, 75*			
Greater Knapweed	148 (MM)			
Gromwell (<i>Seeds</i>)	148 (MM)	37 21, 35		
Groundsel	104	45, 52		272, 275
Gum Arabic	70*	23, 50	166, 175	216
Hawthorn Tree (<i>Bark</i>) (<i>Berries</i>)		34		123
Hazel (<i>Roots</i>)				30, 184
Hazelnut		32, 34		
Hazelwort	149 (MM)			
Hellebore (<i>Black</i>) <i>Hellebore (White)</i> <i>Elleborus</i>	105 90		117, 188, 122* 144, 150, 164	
Hemlock	68	43	126	161
Henbane	72, 75*	40, 53	199	97, 232
Henna	114, 115			
Herb of grace		12	118, 119, 122*	
Hillwort		22		
Hogs Fennel	149 (MM)			

INGREDIENT	THE TROTULA Page Number Chapter I except where stated	THE ENGLISH HOUSEWIFE Page Number	THE BIRTH OF MANKIND Page Number	INCE BOOK Recipe Number
Holm Oak (Holly)	103			
Hollyhock (Althea)		26, 35, 36*	104, 105 118,121,122, 126*	161
Honeysuckle (<i>Leaves</i>) (<i>Carpifol</i>) (<i>Woodbine</i>) (<i>Woodbine</i> <i>Leaves</i>)	76, 100*	20 52 20, 47, 56 20, 56 43	268	147 50, 67, 143
Horehound (<i>White</i>)	163 (MM)	23, 43, 55*	122, 145, 159	
Horpyne?				47
Houseleek/Sen green (<i>Juice of</i>)	108 70	17, 50 38	170, 199	41, 78, 281
Horsemint	95	24		
Hound's Tongue		15, 55		
Hyssop	68, 75*	23, 26, 39*	150, 182	271
Ink?	94			
Iris (<i>Oil</i>) (<i>Florentine Iris</i>) (<i>Flag Iris</i>)	72 69, 122*		178, 179 118, 164, 165*	
Iuphwort		46		
Ivy Leaves (<i>Gum Ivy</i>) (<i>Juice</i>)	102 116	33, 47 14	121, 195	
Janfere?				250
Juniper (<i>Berries</i>) (<i>Nuts</i>)	73, 91,95,109* 73	21	119, 121, 124*	

INGREDIENT	THE TROTULA Page Number Chapter I except where stated	THE ENGLISH HOUSEWIFE Page Number	THE BIRTH OF MANKIND Page Number	INCE BOOK Recipe Number
Karabe			129	
Knotgrass (Sparrow- tongue, (Centinodium)	70	32, 35, 54*	163, 179	
Langdebeef (Oxtongue)		13, 18		
Laurel (<i>Berry</i>) (<i>Leaves</i>) (<i>Oil</i>)	67* 69* 72*			
Lavender (<i>Flowers</i>) (<i>French</i> <i>Lavender/ Spike</i>)	147 (MM)	14, 56, 57* 25 53, 56, 58	126, 171, 195 195, 214	219, 234
Lavender Cotton		56		
Leek	69 *	32, 55	151, 231	22, 177, 181, 239
Lemon		11, 35,		
Lene Coods?				239
Lentils	73*			
Lettuce (<i>Seed</i>)	76	10, 13, 14* 14	159, 168, 171	209, 215, 232, 264, 266
Levd Gras (Five Finger grass)				10, 223
Licorice (Liquorice) (<i>Licorice wood</i>) (<i>Powder</i>)	114	15, 23, 28* 23	166, 168	8, 40, 173

INGREDIENT	THE TROTULA Page Number Chapter I except where stated	THE ENGLISH HOUSEWIFE Page Number	THE BIRTH OF MANKIND Page Number	INCE BOOK Recipe Number
Lignum Aloes			159, 176, 181*	
Lily (Oil) (White lily oil) (Roots) (White Lily)	98 *	18 36	123 107, 108, 121* 183	
Linen Cloth (Ashes)	72, 73*	45		
Linseed (Oil)	72, 74, 75* 81, 122	13, 26, 32*	105, 126, 164*	161, 266
Lint	89, 105			
Liverwort				205
Lovage	68, 69, 72*	20, 34		70, 263
Lungwort	106			
Lupin (<i>concoction of</i>) (Lupin Flour) (Bitter Lupin) (Seeds)	80, 119 119 117	25	119, 172, 173*	
Madder	77, 106*	48	118, 119, 144*	17, 286
Madfelone?				205
Maidenhair		22, 35	105, 118	
Mallow (French) (Dwarf) (Wild)	75, 79, 80, 81, 84, 85, 90, 94, 104, 105, 107, 109	13, 33, 42* 11, 56 43 45	104, 105, 121* 213	23, 247
Malt (Infusion of)	152 (MM)	23		
Mandrake	75			

INGREDIENT	THE TROTULA Page Number Chapter I except where stated	THE ENGLISH HOUSEWIFE Page Number	THE BIRTH OF MANKIND Page Number	INCE BOOK Recipe Number
Manna	152 (MM)			
Marigold		13, 17, 26*	151, 195, 200*	6, 189, 285
Marjoram/Organany	152 (MM)	16, 54, 57	121, 151, 195*	66, 219
Marking Nut	152 (MM)			
Marsh Mallow	75, 84*			
Mastic Resin	81, 166*	47, 48, 59*	125, 131, 132*	
Mayweed	105*	17		200, 207
Meadow Rue	152 (MM)			
Medlar	73		101, 129, 132	
Melilot (<i>Sweet Clover</i>)	75		150, 213, 271*	
Mespiles			129, 132	
Millet			102, 104, 164*	
Mint (Cooked in honey) (Juice) (Red) (Water mint)	67, 68, 69, 72* 67, 69	17, 24, 40* 16, 24 13	151, 159, 162* 145	5
Mistletoe			18, 215	
Mithridate		10, 11, 12*		
Motherwort (<i>mu wort</i>) (Red Motherwort)	67, 68, 69, 73, 80, 82, 85, 93, 95, 105, 107, 109, 110	40 40	122, 124, 126* 126	23

INGREDIENT	THE TROTULA Page Number Chapter I except where stated	THE ENGLISH HOUSEWIFE Page Number	THE BIRTH OF MANKIND Page Number	INCE BOOK Recipe Number
Mouse-ear		18, 25, 47*		12, 20, 32, 239, 270
Mugwort (<i>Dry</i>) (<i>Juice</i>)	67, 68, 69, 73* 68	12, 30, 40* 40	126, 145	278
Mulberries (<i>Wild</i>)		11	129, 168, 176*	129
Mullein	95*			
Mustard (<i>Seed</i>)	97*	53 42		282 196
Myrobalan	153 (MM)			
Myrrh	68, 71, 73, 76*	17, 51	118, 119, 144*	
Myrtleberry (<i>Oil</i>)	67, 70*		125, 129, 167* 129	
Nard Oil	72		126	
Nettles (<i>Red Nettles</i>) (<i>White Dead</i> <i>Nettle</i>)	69* 90	54 20, 49		88, 268, 107, 237, 257, 268
Nightshade (<i>Morel</i>) (<i>Deadly</i> <i>Nightshade</i>) (<i>Black</i> <i>Nightshade</i>) (<i>Berries</i>) (<i>Roots</i>)	75, 76 95	34, 54 54 54	129, 130, 168 168	153, 189
Nutmeg (<i>Mace</i>) (<i>Oil</i>)	70* 151	13, 16, 25* 25, 26, 38* 37	126, 163, 176 151, 159, 275	181, 190 190

INGREDIENT	THE TROTULA Page Number Chapter I except where stated	THE ENGLISH HOUSEWIFE Page Number	THE BIRTH OF MANKIND Page Number	INCE BOOK Recipe Number
Oak (<i>Bark</i>) (<i>Oak</i> <i>Apple/ Gall</i>) (<i>Oak Leaves</i>) (<i>Buds</i>)	73 70, 73 70	33 19 16	129, 130 128, 129, 131*	
Oats (<i>Black</i>) (<i>Oatmeal</i>)	72*	11, 42, 45*	151, 152	279
Oil (<i>Hot</i>) (<i>Common</i>)	73* 115	22, 40, 42* 9 30, 42		24, 53, 66, 68, 81, 90, 94, 157, 156, 209, 267, 279
Oleum Sesaminum?			126, 127	
Olives (<i>Olive Oil</i>)	112 77	13, 19, 47*	105, 153, 154*	11
Onion (<i>Red</i>) (<i>White</i>)	69*	49	126 200 126, 231	26, 130, 132, 134
Opium Poppy Juice	74, 81		119, 163, 166*	
Opopanax			118, 144, 145*	
Opoponax	72, 80	51		
Orange			168	
Oregano/Origa num	68*	57	125, 144, 169*	
Orpines		38, 48		236
Osmund (<i>Roots</i>)		34		

INGREDIENT	THE TROTULA Page Number Chapter I except where stated	THE ENGLISH HOUSEWIFE Page Number	THE BIRTH OF MANKIND Page Number	INCE BOOK Recipe Number
Parsley (Seed) (Roots)	67, 69*	27, 34, 35* 27, 37	124, 183	108, 191, 239 175 190, 191
Parsnip	87		158	
Peach (Kernels)		33	178	
Pears (Roots) (Wild)			129, 132 132	230 230
Pease (Peas)			159, 239	
Pellitory? (of-the-wall, juice of) (of Spain)	103 70, 94* 105	35, 36, 54* 38	212, 214 183 150	239
Pennyroyal (Oil)	68* 87*	27, 39, 57*	119, 121, 124*	
Pennywort	156 (MM)			
Peony (Powder)	156 (MM)	32	180	66
Pepper (Black) (Long) (White) (Corns)	68, 69, 72* 80, 112 156 (MM) 72	24, 40, 42* 33, 50 33	117, 119, 122*	29, 261, 282
Perriwinkle				56
Pig Nut	124			
Pimpernel (Red)		27 20	214	171, 200, 213, 228 239, 273
Pine (Resin)	110		129, 133, 158*	

INGREDIENT	THE TROTULA Page Number Chapter I except where stated	THE ENGLISH HOUSEWIFE Page Number	THE BIRTH OF MANKIND Page Number	INCE BOOK Recipe Number
Plantain (<i>Water</i>) (<i>Juice</i>) (<i>Leaves</i>)	70	21, 32, 42* 31, 43, 46 40 21, 24 47, 48	129, 130, 163* 130 131	159, 270
Plums			132	
Polypody	157 (MM)	24, 34, 36*		230
Pomegranate (<i>Fruit</i>) (<i>Flower/ Balausti</i> <i>um</i>) (<i>Rind</i>) (<i>Bark</i>)	76* 56, 70, 76 70	31	125, 128, 129* 125, 128, 129* 128	
Poplar (<i>Leaves</i>) (<i>Bud/ Populeon</i>) (<i>Oil</i>)	157 (MM)	44, 48, 50*	170	156
Poppy (<i>Juice of</i>) (<i>seed</i>) <i>Opium poppy</i> <i>juice</i>	157 (MM) (157 (MM)) 74, 81	10, 14	119, 163, 166*	232, 265
Porrets?		43, 191		
Prickly Lettuce	70, 75			
Primrose		21	165	
Prosyne?				216
Prunes		24, 26, 38*		
Pulicaria			126	
Purslane (<i>Juice</i>)	70* 75, 76	10, 11	130, 168, 169*	

INGREDIENT	THE TROTULA Page Number Chapter I except where stated	THE ENGLISH HOUSEWIFE Page Number	THE BIRTH OF MANKIND Page Number	INCE BOOK Recipe Number
Pyenyos? Sede (seed)				243
Quince (Seed)	73* 70		102, 163, 166*	
Radish (Water of) (Wild)	157 (MM) 94	35, 36 130, 131		
Ragwort		48, 55		
Raisins		23, 26, 36*	166, 167	104, 188
Ramsons	112			
Reed	116			
Rhubarb	58, 68		149	179
Ribwort		56		
Rice (Rice Flour)	84 84		102, 104, 159*	
Rocket	84*			
Rock Samphire	96			
Rosa Solis		57		
Rose (Oil) (Leaves) (Juice) (Water) (Sugar) (Cake – petals) (Conserve) (Petals) (Red Rose) (Red Rose Leaves) (Red Rose Root)	70, 73, 76, 89* 75, 76* 99	14, 42, 50* 10, 13, 24* 13 16 58 22, 26, 56*	122, 126 122 130 118, 122, 128* 129	36, 84, 88, 61, 128, 137, 208, 285, 189 24 253 124 121

INGREDIENT	THE TROTULA Page Number Chapter I except where stated	THE ENGLISH HOUSEWIFE Page Number	THE BIRTH OF MANKIND Page Number	INCE BOOK Recipe Number
Rosemary (Juice) (Water)	158 (MM)	30, 38, 52* 131	151, 159, 182*	24, 173, 278, 270
Rosyne?				216
Rue/Herb grace (Juice/Water)	69, 73, 75* 69, 73, 75, 80*	13, 17, 18* 131	119, 122, 124, 125, 126 118	66, 98, 105, 109, 217, 224, 261, 273, 290
Rush	109			
Rye (Flour) (Salt)		52	178	277 125, 15 27
Sack	68	34, 38	150, 151	
Saffron (Crocus)	75* 116*	23, 26, 27*	117, 119, 1459	86, 87, 127, 179, 260, 268
Sage (Virtue) (Red Sage)	68* 74	13, 26, 42* 56 20, 30, 39*	182, 195, 231 128	29, 66, 160, 173, 186, 196, 234, 270, 278, 290
Sallat Oil		44, 46, 48*		
Savin (Oil)	68, 69	32	119, 124, 126	
Savory Seed (Powdered)	74		159, 182, 183	
Saxifrage (Seed)	96*	34, 36 35		
Scammony (Levant)	159 (MM) 151 (MM)			
Scarlett Pimpernel	112			

INGREDIENT	THE TROTULA Page Number Chapter I except where stated	THE ENGLISH HOUSEWIFE Page Number	THE BIRTH OF MANKIND Page Number	INCE BOOK Recipe Number
Scabious (Maleselon)		12		171, 213, 200, 273
Sea Bramble	107			
Sea Holly	107			
Seawater	70, 73*			
Sea Wormwood	68			
Sentovare?				246
Serapinum? (<i>Smyrniac</i>)	159 (MM) 159 (MM)			
Sermountain	68*			
Service-berry (<i>Juneberry</i>)	73			
Sesame (<i>Oil</i>)	95		126, 173	
Setwall		34		
Shephard's Purse (<i>Bursa Pastoris</i>)/ <i>Bursa Pastoris</i>)	27	31, 32	129, 130, 179	74, 244
Sicklewort		48		
Siler Montanum			119, 159, 178*	
Silphium	159 (MM)			
Skirret (<i>Dried</i>)		15		
Sloes (<i>Acatia</i>) (<i>Kernel</i>)		31 35, 36	129, 163, 176	
Small beer		40		

INGREDIENT	THE TROTULA Page Number Chapter I except where stated	THE ENGLISH HOUSEWIFE Page Number	THE BIRTH OF MANKIND Page Number	INCE BOOK Recipe Number
Smallage		13, 22, 42*	162	
Snakeroot	159 (MM)			
Soap (<i>Black</i>) (<i>French soap</i>) (<i>White</i>)	117	38, 52 35		
Sorrell		10, 26, 28*	162, 201, 231	83, 278
Sour Bread		24		
Southernwood	110*	42	121, 126, 145	13, 58, 75, 131, 185
Squinantum			125	
Stavesacre (<i>Seed of</i>)			118	
Sowbread	119, 122			
Spices				66
Spikenard (<i>Oil</i>) (<i>Spike Celtic</i>)	67, 73, 75* 72	34	124, 131, 132* 173	
Spinach		26		
Spurge (<i>Spurge Laurel</i>)	120 91		180, 182	
Squill	118			
Squirting Cucumber	113, 121			
Storax	73, 81		119, 125, 126	
Stavesacre	160 (MM)		118, 144	
St, John's-wort	158 (MM)			

INGREDIENT	THE TROTULA Page Number Chapter I except where stated	THE ENGLISH HOUSEWIFE Page Number	THE BIRTH OF MANKIND Page Number	INCE BOOK Recipe Number
Stonecrop (<i>Common</i>)	143 (MM)	24		
Storax (<i>Calamite</i>)	73, 81 89			
Strawberry (<i>leaves</i>) (<i>Strings</i>)		11 56		
Stubwort		45		
Succory		11, 22, 26*		
Sugar (<i>Julep</i>) (<i>Candy</i>)	77*	22, 26, 39* 10, 11 15, 23, 44*	104, 130, 159*	23, 203, 211, 243, 289
Sumac	73,104		168	
Summer Savory	68*			
Sweet Flag	161 (MM)			
Sweet Gale	76			
Sweet Wine (<i>Muscadine</i>) (<i>Grapes</i>)	72	30, 32		
Sweet Wort				205
Tamarind	161 (MM)		125, 172	
Tamarisk		30		
Tanner's Bark		31		
Tansy	69	13, 43		7, 41, 55, 200, 233, 239, 246
Tartar (<i>Oil</i>)	118* 117*			

INGREDIENT	THE TROTULA Page Number Chapter I except where stated	THE ENGLISH HOUSEWIFE Page Number	THE BIRTH OF MANKIND Page Number	INCE BOOK Recipe Number
Terra Sigillata (Sealed Earth)			129	
Thyme/Tufted Thyme (Serpyllum)	99	20, 36, 57*	124, 144, 159* 159	5, 6, 173, 174, 175, 180, 191
Tormentil (Roots)			129	
Towncress (Powder)		38		
Tragacanth Gum (Infusion of)	119	10	166, 179, 241	
Treacle/Triacle (Triacle of Trifera Magna)		13, 22, 25*	126, 146, 177* 126	43, 85, 198, 199, 204
Turnip	97			
Turpentine	161 (MM)	47, 48, 50*	129, 150, 162*	104, 182, 216
Tutsan		40, 56		
Ungentum (Basilicon) (Aureum-Yellow wax & saffron) (Apostolorum) (Aegyptiacum)		46 48 48	122	
Valerian	161 (MM)	56	124, 181	
Varnish?	119			
Vegetable Turpeth	162 (MM)			
Verjuice		43	102	
Vervain (Juice)	80			277
Vetch (Flower)	115	34		

INGREDIENT	THE TROTULA Page Number Chapter I except where stated	THE ENGLISH HOUSEWIFE Page Number	THE BIRTH OF MANKIND Page Number	INCE BOOK Recipe Number
Vine (<i>tops of</i>) (<i>String</i>)	114	56	129	
Vinegar (<i>White Wine</i>) (<i>Strong Wine</i>) (<i>Wine</i>)	70*	10, 24, 25* 39 13 31, 50, 51*	128, 163, 165*	41, 43, 49, 51, 55, 67, 90, 115, 148, 158, 161, 171, 206, 208, 209, 214, 217, 225, 255, 282, 286, 290
Violets (<i>Leaves</i>) (<i>Oil</i>) (<i>Juice</i>) (<i>Flowers</i>) (<i>Syrup</i>)	 77* 70 89*	13, 24, 58* 10, 11, 39* 10 38 11	 159, 162, 165*	35, 79, 107, 127, 169, 186, 205, 270
Wallwort		55	164, 171mi	110, 218
Walnut (<i>Leaves</i>)	71, 102	56		57
Water (<i>Warm</i>) (<i>Snow</i>) (<i>Rainwater</i>)	67, 68, 70, 73* 71	10, 22 44	 129, 132	
Water Mallow			105	
Water Cress	77*	43		82
Water of Mouse-ear (<i>Hawkweed</i>)		25		

INGREDIENT	THE TROTULA Page Number Chapter I except where stated	THE ENGLISH HOUSEWIFE Page Number	THE BIRTH OF MANKIND Page Number	INCE BOOK Recipe Number
Wax <i>(Yellow)</i> <i>(Virgin)</i>	74, 84, 97, 111*	30, 48, 51* 37 44	127, 129, 131*	57, 66 87, 89, 91, 104, 105, 127, 274
Wheat <i>(Wheat Bran as poultice)</i> <i>(Bread leavened as poultice)</i> <i>(unleavened)</i> <i>(crumbs)</i> <i>(Flour)</i>	75, 84	23, 31 39, 43 30 33, 39 12, 13, 18*	121, 199	214 242
White bread <i>(leaven as poultice)</i> <i>(crumbs)</i>		42 42		
White flour				222
Willow <i>(Leaves)</i>	89*	22		
Willow-weed	71*			
Wine <i>(Red)</i> <i>(Sweet)</i> <i>(Fine)</i> <i>(High-quality)</i> <i>(White)</i>	40, 67, 68, 69* 70* 72 84 91* 70*	18, 20, 30* 25, 31, 32* 37 24, 25, 26*	104, 105, 106*	123, 206 7, 9, 20, 40, 80, 109, 26, 118, 160, 202, 231, 232, 249 254, 278, 287, 290
Wood Avens <i>(Herb Bennet)</i>	121	34 49		273
Wood Rose		31		
Wood Sage	164 (MM)			

INGREDIENT	THE TROTULA Page Number Chapter I except where stated	THE ENGLISH HOUSEWIFE Page Number	THE BIRTH OF MANKIND Page Number	INCE BOOK Recipe Number
Wool	73			
Wormwood	71*	13, 24, 38*	126, 129, 170*	6, 24, 53, 55, 58, 77, 86, 98, 131, 158, 160 185
(Juice)	73	25, 30		
(Powder)	71	56		
(Roman)				
Yarrow		13, 45, 55		241
Yellow Flag	68			
Zedoary	77		125, 181, 214	
Zeduria			125	

Key

- *After page number shows multiple entries
- The Trotula (MM) Materia Medica
- The Birth of Mankind (G) Glossary

App 6. 2 Mineral ingredients

INGREDIENT	THE TROTULA Page Number	THE ENGLISH HOUSEWIFE Page Number	THE BIRTH OF MANKIND Page Number	JOHN INCE'S LEECHBOOK K Recipe Number
Alabaster		18		
Alum	13, 111	20, 33, 38*	102, 132, 168*	
(Water)		18		
(Roche)		19, 20, 48*		
(Powder)		44		
Amber			121, 128, 130*	
Antimony/ Antimonium	138 (MM)	16	132	

INGREDIENT	THE TROTULA Page Number	THE ENGLISH HOUSEWIFE Page Number	THE BIRTH OF MANKIND Page Number	JOHN INCE'S LEECHBOOK K Recipe Number
Arsenic			199	
Ashes	80, 90*			
Aquafortis (Nitric Acid)			200	
Aqua Vitae?		15, 17, 23*		
Blacking	106, 116			
Borax	100, 119*			
Brimstone (Yellow)			118, 121, 144 118	
Calamine/Lapis Calaminiris		51		
Camphor	76, 98	42, 43, 49*	170, 179, 260*	
Chalk	66, 77	55		
Cinnabar	102			
Clay	77, 93*			
Coal (Hot) (Soot)		25 13, 17 42	118	
Copper	102			
Copperas (White) (Green)		23 21, 48, 49* 49, 50		220
Crystal			159	
Flintstones (Burnt)			130	
Fuller's Earth	104			

INGREDIENT	THE TROTULA Page Number	THE ENGLISH HOUSEWIFE Page Number	THE BIRTH OF MANKIND Page Number	JOHN INCE'S LEECHBOOK K Recipe Number
Gold Litharge		42, 51, 53*		
Greek Tar	99*			
Hematite (Powdered)	70, 123		128, 129, 130*	
Iron (Rust)		30	129	
Jet	78			
Lead (Red Lead) (White)	98, 99*	38 46, 48 48, 50, 53*	154, 155 163, 172	89
Lime (Burnt) (Slake Water)	48		199	
Litharge	76, 120			
Lye	80, 114*	54		
Lynx	151 (MM)			
Meerscham	116			
Mercury/Quick silver (White) (Mercury Sublimate – powder)		33, 44, 49* 49, 50 50	104, 105, 195*	
Natron (Powder)	68 103, 104*			
Orpiment	113, 114*			
Petroleum	156 (MM)		150, 183	
Pitch	72, 93*	24, 52		

INGREDIENT	THE TROTULA Page Number	THE ENGLISH HOUSEWIFE Page Number	THE BIRTH OF MANKIND Page Number	JOHN INCE'S LEECHBOOK K Recipe Number
Plaster of Paris	106			
Pumice	112, 122			
Rock Crystal	119			
Salt (<i>Rock Salt</i>)	71, 85* 69	19, 23, 42*	102, 14, 126*	
Saltpetre			172	
Sandragon		12	216	
Sealed Earth	159 (MM)		128, 129	
Slaked Lime	104			
Starch	117, 120*		168	
Steel		30		
Sulfur (<i>Natural sulphur</i>)	161 (MM) 123			
Tutia		22		
Quicklime	113, 120*			
Verdigris		50		216
Vitriol	162 (MM)			

Key

- *After page number shows multiple entries
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- The Birth of Mankind (G) Glossary

App. 6.3 Animal-based ingredients

INGREDIENT	THE TROTULA Page Number	THE ENGLISH HOUSEWIFE Page Number Chapter I	THE BIRTH OF MANKIND	JOHN INCE'S LEECH BOOK Recipe Number
Adder (<i>Skin</i>)			26, 50, 144	120
Ambergris	73, 82			
Animal grease		39		
Ass (<i>Milk</i>) (<i>Hoof</i>)	75, 77*		122, 125, 144	
Badger Fat	75			90
Bear (<i>Fat</i>) (<i>Foot</i>) (<i>Gall</i>)	116 148 (MM)		121	55, 75
Bird lime				129
Bladder		48		
Boar (<i>Grease</i>) (<i>Barhog Grease</i>)		48		52, 106, 110, 161, 183, 216, 250 285
Bull (<i>Gall</i>)	68	17	118, 164	180
Butter (<i>unsalted</i>)	69, 74	37, 40, 47*	131 126, 131, 132*	191
Calf's Hoof			154	
Cat (<i>Dung</i>) (<i>Grease</i>)	71			88, 196 127
Capon (<i>Flesh</i>) (<i>Fat</i>)	75		121, 141, 236	

INGREDIENT	THE TROTULA Page Number	THE ENGLISH HOUSEWIFE Page Number Chapter I	THE BIRTH OF MANKIND	JOHN INCE'S LEECH BOOK Recipe Number
Castoreum	68, 72, 73	37	118, 119, 121*	61
Cheese	80		159, 167, 178	136
Chicken (<i>Broth</i>)		35		
Coccus (Dyer's Grain)		20		
Conch	106			
Coral (<i>Red Coral</i>) (<i>Powdered</i>)	33, 82 70	40 40	129, 130, 178	
Cormorant (<i>blood</i>)	140 (MM)			
Cow (<i>Pisse</i>) (<i>Marrow</i>) (<i>Beef</i>) (<i>Neat's Foot Oil</i>)	124	37 52, 53, 56*		137
Crab (<i>Foot</i>)	112			
Cream		42, 45		
Cullis (<i>Broth</i>)			125	
Culver (<i>Dove</i>) (<i>Dung</i>)	75, 124	26 18	118	100
Cuttlefish (<i>Bones</i>)	101			
Deer (<i>Heart</i>) (<i>Horn</i>) (<i>Marrow</i>) (<i>Tallow</i>) (<i>Suet</i>)	73 145 (MM) 74 145 (MM)	37, 43		
Dog				119

INGREDIENT	THE TROTULA Page Number	THE ENGLISH HOUSEWIFE Page Number Chapter I	THE BIRTH OF MANKIND	JOHN INCE'S LEECH BOOK Recipe Number
Duck (<i>Grease</i>) (<i>Blood</i>)	81 140 (MM)		105, 117, 145*	
Earthworm			158, 178	
Eel (Grey) (<i>Grease</i>)	108	16		25
Egg (<i>White</i>) (<i>Yolk</i>) (<i>Oil</i>) (<i>Rear egg - partially cooked/ coddled</i>)	74, 75* 76* 81,105*	9, 23, 26* 17, 28, 33* 12, 32, 33* 45 40	104, 121, 159* 108, 130, 132* 121	75, 83, 125, 220, 242 146 276
Elephant Bones (<i>Burnt</i>)	70			
Fish (<i>Salted</i>) (<i>Scaly</i>)	70 81, 94 69, 81		125, 181, 231	
Fox (<i>Lungs</i>) (<i>Fat</i>) (<i>Scent</i>)	 146 (MM)	24 14		11 114
Frog				165, 252
Gall	17, 29, 32*		128, 131	
Goat (<i>Blood/ Claws</i>) (<i>Fat</i>) (<i>Horn scrapings</i>) (<i>Milk</i>) (<i>Womb</i>) (<i>Tallow</i>) (<i>Uterus</i>) (<i>Kid's hoof</i>)	 75 78 118 78	37 37	 129 145	180 249 196 108

INGREDIENT	THE TROTULA Page Number	THE ENGLISH HOUSEWIFE Page Number Chapter I	THE BIRTH OF MANKIND	JOHN INCE'S LEECH BOOK Recipe Number
Goose (<i>Egg</i>) (<i>Grease/Fat</i>) (<i>Suet</i>) (<i>Tallow</i>) (<i>Dung</i>)	119 74, 75* 148 (MM) 76	43	105	
Hare (<i>Vagina</i>) (<i>Womb</i>) (<i>Brain</i>)	77 77		162	180
Hartshorn (<i>burnt</i>) (<i>Powder</i>)		20 20, 25	131, 177, 178*	
Hart's Tongue		13, 27, 38*		175, 180, 205
Hawk's (<i>Dung</i>)	82		118, 144	
Hedgehog				180
Hen (<i>Fat</i>) (<i>Dung</i>)	75, 81*	47	104, 105, 121*	
Honey (<i>Clarified</i>)	10, 11, 12, 62, 64, 68, 69, 81, 99, 124, 202, 227	11, 22, 23* 15, 30, 33*	104, 119, 122* 141	3, 14, 15, 19, 27, 29, 30, 38, 43, 57, 92, 97, 100, 101, 109a, 117, 122, 124, 125, 137, 138, 145, 148, 149, 158, 202, 210, 214, 216, 261, 268, 269, 280, 283, 286, 288
Horse (<i>Dung</i>) (<i>Hoof</i>)		15	125	116

INGREDIENT	THE TROTULA Page Number	THE ENGLISH HOUSEWIFE Page Number Chapter I	THE BIRTH OF MANKIND	JOHN INCE'S LEECH BOOK Recipe Number
Ivory (Burnt) (Scrapings) (Shavings) (Powder)	117 82	20 12 25	129, 130, 162* 130 129 82	
Kid			141	93
Lamb (Dung)	81		141	
Leech	101, 104			
Leather (shoemaker's pieces) (Glover's Shreds) (Alum Leather) (Burnt)	 72	47 26		201
Lizard	115			
Milk (Red)		10, 11, 39* 36	125,131,145*	23, 45 49, 83, 84, 111, 117, 206, 215, 246, 273
Mole (Powdered)		15		
Mouse (Dung)	83		164	
Mummy	153 (MM)			
Mutton		26		
Musk (Oil)	73* 72*		106, 117 121*	66
Mussels		38		
Ox (Bones) (Gall)		34, 52	144, 145, 164*	104 185

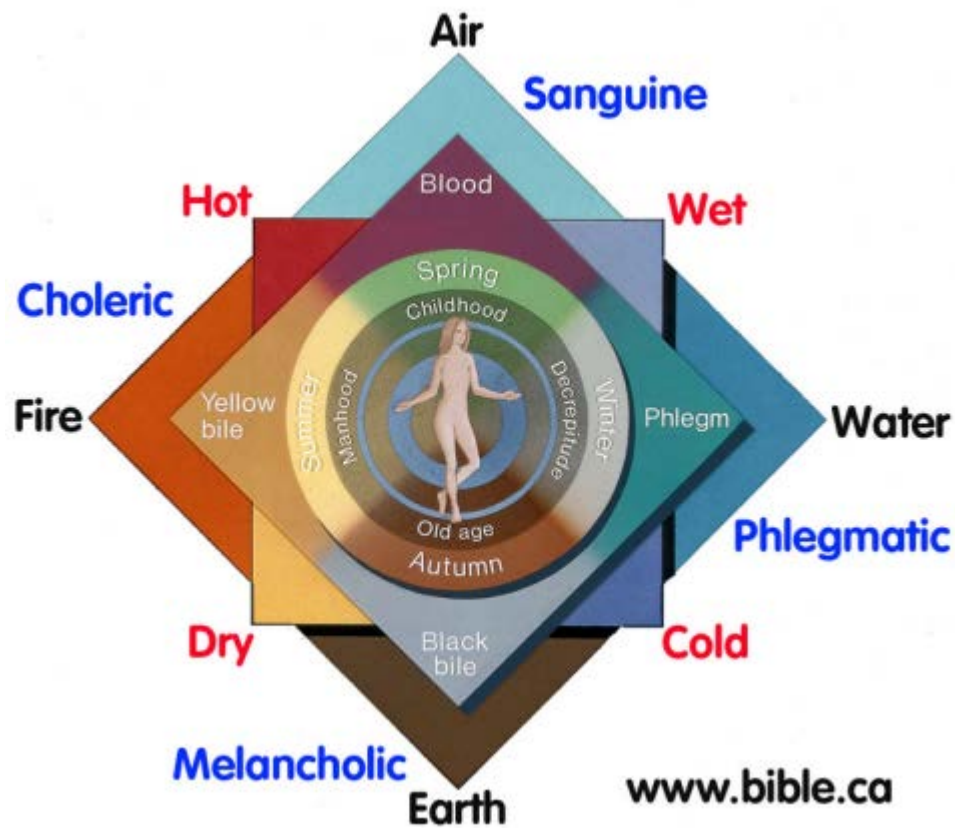
INGREDIENT	THE TROTULA Page Number	THE ENGLISH HOUSEWIFE Page Number Chapter I	THE BIRTH OF MANKIND	JOHN INCE'S LEECH BOOK Recipe Number
Partridge	81, 83		121, 141, 231	
Peacock			121	
Pearl	83		214	
Pheasant	81, 83			
Pig (Liver) (Testicles) (Grease) (Bacon) (Bacon Fat) (Salted Bacon) (Uncastrated) (Barrow's Grease) (Rusty Bacon)	77 77, 78 71* 71 78	42, 43 47, 50 49	181	127, 137, 182 121, 202, 275
Pigeon		12	121, 144	
Pike (Bones and teeth)		32		
Piss				239
Rabbit (Coney) (Milk) (Brain)				166 278 269 (G)
Ram (Head & Feet)			272 (G)	
Raven (Dung)				251
Rennet (Calf) (Hare) (Roebuck) (Sheep)	157 (MM) 157 (MM) 157 (MM) 157 (MM) 157 (MM)			
Scorpion (Oil)			183, 212	

INGREDIENT	THE TROTULA Page Number	THE ENGLISH HOUSEWIFE Page Number Chapter I	THE BIRTH OF MANKIND	JOHN INCE'S LEECH BOOK Recipe Number
Sheep (<i>Tallow</i>) (<i>Dung</i>) (<i>Leather</i>) (<i>Suet</i>) (<i>Milk</i>) (<i>Udder</i>)		24, 47 27, 47 32 38, 43, 45* 54	158	
Snail (<i>Shells</i>) (<i>Red Snails</i>)		21	154	287
Spermacti (Whale wax)		24, 44		
Squirrel (<i>Fat</i>)	75			
Stag's Pizzle (<i>penis</i>)		32		
Tallow				104
Urine (<i>Man</i>)		42		
Veal (<i>Marrow</i>) (<i>Young</i>)	75 75	26	141	
Wax (<i>Red</i>) (<i>White</i>)	74, 84* 74 74, 84, 97,*		129	
Weasel (<i>Testicles</i>)	78			
Whey of milk			125	
Woman's milk	74, 75, 76*	13, 14, 39*	130, 145, 170*	132, 258, 259, 264
Wool	68, 71*	28	118, 131, 132	
Worms (<i>Red</i>)				91

Key

- *After page number shows multiple entries
- The Trotula (MM) Materia Medica
- The Birth of Mankind (G) Glossary

Appendix 7. The Four Humors of Hippocratic Medicine



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www.bible.ca/psychiatry/psychiatry-humoral-hippocratic-medicine-hippocrates-four-humors-450bc-1858ad-melanchol-blood-depression.jpg.

Appendix 8. Selected popular medical works of the sixteenth century, showing the number of reprinted editions of each work that had taken place up to 1660.

Author	Title of Publication	Date first published	Editions printed up until 1660
Moulton	<i>Myrrour or glasse of helth</i>	1536	23
Moulton	<i>Regimen Sanitatis Salernic</i>	1528	19
Elyot	<i>The Castell of Helthe</i>	1537	17
Elyot	<i>Erra Pater</i>	1540	16
Raynalde	<i>The Byrth of Mankynde</i>	1545	15
Raynalde	<i>Treasure of Pore Men</i>	1526	14
Raynalde	<i>An Hospitall for the diseased</i>	1578	12
Raynalde	<i>Seynge of urynes</i>	1525	11
Barrough	<i>The Methode of phisicke</i>	1538	10
Lupton	<i>A thousand notable things</i>	1579	10
Venner	<i>Secretes of Albertus Magnus</i>	1560	9
Goeurot	<i>The Regiment of Lyfe</i>	1543	9
Pope John XXI	<i>The Treasury of Health</i>	1550	9
Partridge	<i>The Widowes Treasure</i>	1582	9

After M. Fissell, 'Popular Medical Writing', in J. Raymond (ed.), *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 417.

Appendix 9. Zodiac Man, from a fourteenth-century manuscript.



This picture illustrates the different parts of the body believed to be influenced by different astrological signs, in the Zodiac medicine of the late Middle Ages.

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<http://www.joh.cam.ac.uk/zodiac-man>.

Appendix 10. Translation of recipe no. 34, 'For a wall to keep animals out and keep the things inside safe'.

In the name of the father, the son and the holy spirit Amen

+In bethlehem in Judaea where Christ was born there was found neither thief nor robbers nor wild animals, except harnessed animals. Just as these animals were caught and bound and restrained and just so as to speak Christ was caught, bound and restrained, and Saint Peter was caught and bound in chains and restrained, so all robbers illegally entering this place or harmful animals shall be drugged and restrained and in chains and shackles held and prevented from leaving before I will it /and may not harm the things of the creator [?]
/and then fasten firmly at every corner of the enclosure one of the nails saying : just as these nails stay fixed in place so may all those who enter this place illegally or doing harm be taken and firmly bound until I wish all of them to be unbound. And then from 4 wands make 4 circlets or hoops and hang them on each of the 4 nails and say: o king who rules over the south, o king who rules over the east, o king who rules over the west, o king who rules over the northern parts, o brothers sergeants and sisters Sator, Atripos, and Lachesis overturn fate [?] and fasten in with these, and so this place is sealed in for seven hours seven pits of hell[?] so all raiders or robbers or thief entering this place or any evil animal entering the bounds are confounded invisibly in shackles and bound so they cannot move, since those seven names are through him who created heaven and earth and sea and everything in them as long as these circles hang here they are not able to get out
Also say three times help us and make perfect the ring of god/ and while you work this experiment say three creeds, three pater nosters and three aves.'

Appendix 11. The Sator –Rotas square

S	A	T	O	R
A	R	E	P	O
T	E	N	E	T
O	P	E	R	A
R	O	T	A	S

			P			
			A			
			T			
			E			
			R			
A			N			O
P	A	T	O	S	T	E
			S			
			T			
			E			
			R			

The Sator-Rotas square is a multiple palindrome, as it reads the same forwards and backwards when read either horizontally or vertically. The letters can also be arranged into the form of a cross, spelling out the words *Pater noster* (the opening of the Lord's Prayer, with the letters A and O for alpha and omega (symbolising the beginning and the end) in the angles of the cross. Despite, or perhaps because of, its Christian symbolism, the use of the words from the square as a charm is widely recorded, and it is specifically cited as a cure for insanity and for fever in two books directly contemporary with the Ince Book, *De Varia Quercus Historia*, by Jean du

Choul (Lyons 1555), and *De Rerum Varietate*, by Jérôme Cardan, a medical astrologer, (Milan 1557).²

² Fishwick, D., 'An Early Christian Cryptogram?', *Canadian Catholic Historical Association Report*, 26 (1959), 29-41